

CHICKASAW EMPIRE

The Story of the Colbert Family

By
Don Martini

Richard Sheridan



*\$10.00 pp.
Received
29 July 1986*

CHICKASAW EMPIRE:

The Story of the Colbert Family

by

Don Martini

P.O. Box 832

Ripley, Mississippi 38663

SHEFFIELD PUBLIC LIBRARY

316 N. Montgomery Avenue
Sheffield, Alabama 35660
Phone: 256-386-5633

February, 1986

P.O. Box 832
Ripley, Misss.

38663

Preface

CHICKASAW EMPIRE centers on the lives of the Colberts, the men, women, and children who compose America's foremost Indian family. At the same time, the book necessarily covers a broad expanse of Chickasaw history, from the turbulent Mississippi years through the tragedy of removal to the final dissolution of tribal government in 1906. The primary purpose of this book is to show the importance of the Colbert family to Chickasaw history, rather than offer a definitive study of Chickasaw mores and customs. That has already been done with publication of Arrell M. Gibson's *THE CHICKASAWS* by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1971.

The Colbert family history comes from a variety of sources. Indeed, this writer's interest in the family, which began over twenty years ago, led to the discovery that though there was much information available about the family, it was widely scattered and frequently erroneous. The task here has been to consolidate those sources to produce a fact-based family history. The primary source for the pre-removal years is the voluminous correspondence carried on by British, French, Spanish, American, and Chickasaw writers during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. Missionary records, censuses, and the courthouse records of the several Mississippi counties have proved valuable. Journals of treaty proceedings have helped. Material for the Oklahoma years has come primarily from the records of the Chickasaw Nation in the Oklahoma Historical Society, from scattered books and articles concerning some facets of Chickasaw history, and from the Foreman Collection of Pioneer Reminiscences.

Also included here is a genealogical chart of the Colbert family. The genealogy has been built upon the fore going records, correspondence with family members, and from census and allotment records. Both the book and the chart were first completed in 1974, and have been recently updated. The writer acknowledges that errors in the genealogy may be present, but available evidence has yielded the conclusions presented here. Geneological statements are foot-noted in the family history section.

The significance of the Colberts in Chickasaw history cannot be overestimated. Mixed-blood control of the Five Civilized Tribes by the early Nineteenth Century was fairly common, but only among the Chickasaws did one family, the Colberts, enjoy complete domination. The Cherokees were dominated by the Rosses, the Ridges, the Vanns, and the Coodys, the Creeks by the McIntoshes, the Griersons, and the Kinnairds, the Seminoles by the Jumpers and Browns, and the Choctaws by the Folsoms, Leflores, and the Pitchlynns. The Colbert dynasty, unflinching in its absolute reign over the Chickasaw people for seventy years, was one of the few to disintegrate voluntarily, ceasing only when family members chose to relinquish power to others. Even new leaders frequently were tied to the Colberts by marriage.

Any number of people have assisted in some way in the creation

of CHICKASAW EMPIRE. Dr. Mary Floyd Rickard of the Northeast Mississippi Junior College at Booneville introduced me to the exploits of the family many years ago, and her retelling of their story led me in search of other information. The late Guy B. Braden, Chief Park Interpreter at the Natchez Trace Parkway and my supervisor from 1967 to 1971, was a big fan of the Colbert family; his article, "The Colberts and the Chickasaw Nation", appeared in the Tennessee Historical Quarterly in 1958. Mrs. Alene Simpson and Mrs. C.E. Cook aided me immeasurably during research trips to the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1967 and 1968. Colbert descendants have been kind enough to write or talk with me about their ancestors. Foremost among these were Mrs. Jane Wegener of Wichita Falls, Texas; Mrs. Frances B. Wierman of Topeka, Kansas; Mrs. Elaine Colbert, now of Richardson, Texas; Charles R. Colbert of New Orleans; Mrs. Kate L. Colbert of New York City; Mrs. Juanita Tate of Ardmore, Oklahoma. Marie Garland, author of THE CHICKASAW LOVES AND ALLIED FAMILIES, offered considerable help in clarifying the connections between the Colberts and that other notable Chickasaw family, the Loves. A very special thanks goes to Elaine Colbert, who persuaded me to drag the manuscript out of the closet, where it had lain a dozen years. Because of her interest, this book is available to Colbert heirs.

Ripley, Mississippi

Don Martini
February, 1986

'Deep in the Mys
- an An

The story o
n 1715, England
et the stage fo
c America. The
rn Scotland to
England and Sco
he Catholic Mir
osh and others,
nd though many
n 1745), other
nite reprisal
thousands of
tic.

One of th
America was TH
20, 1735, and
The contingent
most notable
New World at
a direct desc
tosh clan; hi
dier in the
haps the mos
McGillivray
end in time
a British Co
chief, Will
the first s

Appare
arriving sh
Colbert.
list of the
claiming st
WALES. Fro
in family
What he di
America ar
Witho
apparently
ercus Indi
spoke free

"Deep in the Mystery of Bush fighting..."
- an American of James Colbert, 1776

Chapter One: The Progenitor

The story of the Chickasaw Colberts begins in Scotland. There, in 1715, England violently suppressed the Jacobite Rebellion and set the stage for the mass migration of thousands of Highland Scots to America. The revolt was an attempt by the Highlanders of northern Scotland to replace King George I, ruler of Great Britain (England and Scotland), with James Edward Stuart, son of James II, the Catholic king deposed in 1688. Led by Lieutenant William McIntosh and others, the revolt fared poorly. It was quashed quickly, and though many Scots chose to continue resistance (revolting again in 1745), others chose to flee the country in light of almost definite reprisals. Within three years of the Jacobite uprising, thousands of Scots were making their exodus across the vast Atlantic.

One of the many vessels which transported the Highlanders to America was THE PRINCE OF WALES, which departed Dornoch on October 20, 1735, and arrived at Darien, Georgia, on January 10, 1736. The contingent that disembarked at the Georgia port was perhaps the most notable assemblage of Highlanders forced to immigrate to the New World at one time: among its number were John Mohr McIntosh, a direct descendant of the Jacobite leader and chief of the McIntosh clan; his son, Lachlan McIntosh, destined to become a Brigadier in the Continental Army; Lachlan McGillivray, father of perhaps the most notable of all Southern Indian chiefs, Alexander McGillivray of the Creeks; Farquar McGillivray, Lachlan's cousin and in time a noted minister at Charleston; Roderick McIntosh, later a British Commissary to the Creek Indians and father of the Creek chief, William McIntosh; and John McIntosh, brother to Roderick and the first and last British Commissary to the Chickasaws.

Apparently there was one more important Highlander aboard the arriving ship at Darien, a fifteen year old boy named James Logan Colbert. His name is not found on the passenger list, nor on a list of the Georgia settlers of 1733-41, but descendants have been claiming since at least 1881 that he was on board THE PRINCE OF WALES. From whence he came is likewise a mystery, but vague hints in family archives indicate an origin at Inverness, Scotland. What he did there, who his ancestors were, or why he immigrated to America are all unknowns about James Logan Colbert.

Without a brace of kinsmen in the New World, James Colbert apparently formed a quick association with one or more of the numerous Indian traders in Georgia, unkempt but adventurous men who spoke freely of the independent life available among the Indians

of the southeastern United States, the pretty Indian maidens, the abundant land and game, and the quick profit to be made in the Indian trade. Again, however, mystery stalks the trail of James Colbert. We do not know with whom this association was formed, or under what circumstances, nor exactly when the association took place. Yet we do know that sometime prior to 1741, James Colbert, late of Scotland, chose a life among the Indians.

There were four major tribes in the southeast in the early days. The largest was the Cherokee, whose number was in excess of 20,000 persons scattered throughout the mountains and valleys of eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina. The Creeks, a confederation of some 12,000 people, occupied lands south of the Cherokee, primarily along the Coosa and Chattahoochee rivers in Alabama. The Choctaws, over 15,000 in number, occupied the fertile black prairies of central Mississippi and extreme southwestern Alabama. North of the Choctaws were their kinsmen, the Chickasaws, a tribe of 6,000 persons whose homeland was northeast Mississippi, between the headwaters of the Yazoo and Tombigbee rivers. To this tribe came James Colbert.

The Chickasaw Indians of the late 1730s and early 1740s were a beleaguered people, a situation brought about by a lengthy war with the Choctaws and their suppliers, the French of Louisiana. Their war had begun in 1722 when, at the instigation of British traders, the Chickasaws began the systematic destruction of French voyageurs on the Mississippi and other rivers. French retaliation followed in the form of raids by the French-allied Choctaws, and in 1725 the Chickasaws were forced to sue for peace. The conflict reopened in 1730 when the French retaliated for the Chickasaw-instigated Natchez uprising of November, 1729, which saw over 250 Louisiana settlers butchered at Fort Rosalie by determined Natchez warriors. In 1736 the Chickasaws reached their historic military pinnacle by soundly defeating two French armies at the battles of Ogoula Tchetoche (March 25) and Ackia (May 26). In 1739, another French invasion failed to eliminate the Chickasaws, and on March 25, 1740, the French settled for a negotiated conclusion of the hostilities. Choctaw raids on the Chickasaws, however, did not cease, and for the next four years gigantic Choctaw armies ravaged the Chickasaw settlements.

A peculiar aspect of Chickasaw existence was the arrangement of the tribal villages, which unlike those of the other Southern tribes were layed out in a compact fashion. Due to the aggressiveness of the Choctaws in prosecuting the war of 1722-1725, the Chickasaws withdrew from their scattered settlements throughout Lee, Chickasaw, and Pontotoc counties in present Mississippi and set up a string of seven villages on Oldtown Creek, a primary tributary of the Tombigbee River which flows south through Lee County. The entire settlement took the white man's name of "Oldtown", even though each of the villages had independent status as far as governmental autonomy. Near the villages, on the rolling prairies that dominate the area's topography, were located the Chickasaw fields of corn, squash, beans, and melons. Livestock, particularly horses and cattle, were contained in fenced fields

adjacent to
throughout
strategic
added safe
dwellings,
it lasted
of water

The
marily on
quantities
to the nur
arrived in
that inclu
guns, pow
supplemen
deavors a
meat, fis
tribes wa
Chickasaw
Lakes to
Mississi
hunting
as a res
1740s.

Chi
election
iksa. E
of the t
Each vil
the shar
the tri
sponsib
during
opportu
accordi
a posit
Chickas
respect

Tr
other s
as he s
Who Thu
creatur
The be
burial
with a
his he
locate
was li
odors
Indian

adjacent to Oldtown, while crude stilted henhouses were scattered throughout the settlements. Protection was afforded through the strategic placement of log forts in each of the villages and the added safety of the thick-walled Chickasaw mud and sapling dwellings. The Oldtown situation was to prove so satisfactory that it lasted seven decades, though a constant complaint was the lack of water afforded by Oldtown Creek during dry spells.

The Chickasaw economy of the 1730s and 1740s was based primarily on the hunt, with warriors able to bring in considerable quantities of deer, rabbit, bear, and fox pelts. These were traded to the numerous English traders (the first of whom, Thomas Welch, arrived in 1698) for a wide variety of ornaments and other items that included buckles, bells, scissors, knives, wire, vermillion, guns, powder, lead, axes, and brass or copper kettles. The tribe supplemented their trade gains by the limited agricultural endeavors and with a strong dependence on the forests and waters for meat, fish, fruits, nuts, and berries. Tribal commerce with other tribes was confined primarily to the Creeks because of wars, though Chickasaw delegations occasionally traveled as far as the Great Lakes to the north and the Caddo and Quawpaw lands west of the Mississippi. The Chickasaw commercial structure, along with the hunting sorties and agricultural pursuits, suffered immeasurably as a result of the Choctaw raids of the late 1730s and early 1740s.

Chickasaw government during this early period involved the election of a principal chief from the highest social clan, or *iksa*. Beneath the principal chief was the "first beloved warrior" of the tribe, whose duty was to formulate tribal military strategy. Each village had its own chief and leading warriors who, along with the shamans, other brave men, and wise elder warriors, composed the tribal council. The tribal council, which was primarily responsible for Chickasaw affairs, was marked by lengthy deliberations during which all present, be it ten or a hundred, received an opportunity to speak. While most chieftain positions were filled according to clan rules, an individual could advance himself to a position of influence through merit. Women played no role in Chickasaw government, being considered inferior creatures in that respect.

Tribal religion was not vastly dissimilar to that of the other southern tribes. Their deity, who could control the elements as he saw fit, was called *Ish-te-hool-loo Aba*, "The Great One Above Who Thunders". Beneath him were a group of subordinate spirits and creatures who could help or harm a Chickasaw as his whims directed. The basic Chickasaw belief in an afterlife led to an elaborate burial ritual which, in its purest form, saw the deceased buried with all of his effects in a sitting posture, facing east, with his head anointed with bear's oil and vermillion. The grave was located beneath the deceased's couch or bed, under his house, and was lined with bark, logs, and leaves to prevent the sifting of odors into the dwelling. Guns were fired immediately upon an Indian's death to drive the spirit on its way to the land of virgin

forests and clear streams. Widows were instructed to mourn their loss publicly for at least one year, and could be seen wailing in front of their cabins every morning and evening. The Chickasaws did not erect the popular burial mounds as did other, usually earlier, tribes. This unique burial code was so entrenched in Chickasaw life that it lasted well into the nineteenth century.

So this was the tribe to which James Logan Colbert came. Why did he choose these tall, haughty, frequently warlike Indians? Perhaps he just followed the first group of traders bound for the Indian country. He may have encountered Chickasaw traders at the Eastern Chickasaw settlement across the Savannah River from Augusta, Georgia (this Chickasaw settlement had been established in 1722 by a hundred Indians who were fleeing the Choctaw wars; it lasted until their return to Oldtown in the 1790s). No doubt the historic friendship of the tribe to the British people had its influence, for the Choctaws, the Creeks, and at least a portion of the Cherokees were attached to French interests. English traders were a common sight in the Chickasaw towns, had been so since 1704, had been present at the Chickasaw victory at Ogoula Tcheto in 1736, and were already marrying Chickasaw girls. From the viewpoint of the novice Indian trader, the Chickasaw country must have been appealing as a safe, if not profitable, base of operations.

Colbert reached the Chickasaw country about 1741, a time which unfortunately corresponds with a dearth of historic records about the tribe. This period of written silence lasted from 1743, when Bienville's term as French Governor of Louisiana ceased, until 1763, when British control of the Southeast was gained through victory over France in the Seven Years' War. The only exceptions to this vacuum are the scattered notes of John Buckles, a Chickasaw trader who recorded his activities between 1751 and 1758, and a volume on the Chickasaws by James Adair, a Chickasaw trader from 1746 until 1768. Buckles, an active trader among both the Eastern and Mississippi Chickasaws, made no mention of Colbert. Adair, a trader of such influence and reputation that a book could be written of his exploits, wrote only that Colbert "who has lived among the Chickasaws from his childhood", could speak better Chickasaw than English (3).

The first few years of James Colbert's existence among the Chickasaws thus become a matter of conjecture. No doubt he located for himself a home in one of the seven Chickasaw towns and set aside a field to plant his crops and raise stock. As a British trader, he came into contact with Mingo Homa, the Chickasaw King from the 1730s to the 1780s, and Paya Mattaha, who besides being the brother of Mingo Homa was the principal warrior of the tribe. Mingo Homa or another Chickasaw must have given him a complete tour of the Oldtown area, and it is likely that he walked upon the bloody battlegrounds of Ackia and Ogoula Tcheto. Perhaps he was shown the charred remains of Pierre D'Artaquette and the twenty-two other French soldiers burned following the skirmish at Ogoula Tcheto, or the armaments captured at Ackia. There is a strong likelihood that he joined Buckles, John Pettigrew, and the other

traders specific common t in the t records, to renew in the r

Mar common p as 1733) who found marital male have quently it, the r evening of his in projected ing, then marriage. union tha to tribal ternal li with the Colb

contract ibly have adopting was added wives hav the quiet came at 1 daughter, William, wife, the Of these become inf common Ind

The July 10, 1 traders to Apparently traders in that deced Exactly ho to a Chick women coul new import to the sid South Carol his Chicka though the

urn their
ailing
Chick-
er,
entrenched
h century,
came.
e Indians?
d for the
s at the
rom
established
w wars;
o doubt
e had its
ortion
sh tra-
so since
Tchetoka
the view-
must
oper-

time which
ds about
8, when
ntil
ough
ptions
Chicke-
758,
trader
the
bert.
ok could
s lived
Chick-

the
located
set aside
ader,
om the
e. Mingo
ur of
bloody
hown
vo
a
ong
ther

traders in sorties against the Choctaws, though his name is not specifically mentioned in the accounts. James Colbert, as a common trader, no doubt was forced to spend much of his time in the tedious chores of the Indian trade, sorting furs, keeping records, and traveling to Charleston and other seaboard cities to renew his stock. Other time was spent in maintaining his home in the nation.

Marriages between the traders and the Chickasaw women was a common practice by the 1740s (mixed-bloods were mentioned as early as 1733), and James Colbert soon joined the throng of Brittitishers who found connubial delight with the Indian girls. Chickasaw marital customs were relatively simple, providing that a wooing male have one of his relatives or friends take some gift, frequently a bundle of cloth, to the intended bride; if she accepted it, the marriage contract was sealed. The man then spent an evening with the girl's father during which he traditionally told of his intentions and abilities to provide support. If by then the projected groom had built for himself a cabin or some other dwelling, then he and his bride retired therein to consummate the marriage. From then on, they were regarded as husband and wife, a union that could be dissolved at will by either partner. According to tribal custom, children traced their lineage through the maternal line, and in the event of a "divorce", they generally went with the mother.

Colbert followed Chickasaw customs in entering into a marriage contract with a fullblooded Indian woman, a union that quite possibly have occurred about 1750. Colbert even went a step farther by adopting the Indian practice of polygamy. A second fullblood wife was added to the family, and later a halfblood. The names of his wives have not been preserved, and so they lived their lives in the quiet oblivion so often repeated in history. To these unions came at least eight children. The first fullblood wife bore a daughter, whose name has also vanished. The second bore sons named William, George, Levi, Samuel, and Joseph. To the trader's third wife, the halfblood, came a son, James, and a daughter, Susan. Of these eight children, born between 1750 and 1775, four would become influential Chickasaw leaders, three would the life of the common Indian, and one would disappear into the mists of time. (4)

The Chickasaws and the Choctaws finally concluded peace on July 10, 1758, and James Colbert became one of the first British traders to expand his operations into the new Choctaw market. Apparently Colbert was fast becoming one of the more influential traders in the Indian country by the early 1760s, for it was during that decade that he began to assume an active role in tribal affairs. Exactly how he managed to step from a more-or-less common trader to a Chickasaw leader is unknown, though his marriages to Chickasaw women could have been a major factor. Such was the extent of this new importance that in May, 1761, he led eleven Chickasaw warriors to the aid of the beleaguered British garrison at Fort Prince George, South Carolina, then besieged by hostile Cherokees. Colbert and his Chickasaw troops are said to have been used primarily as scouts, though they did not fail to bring in Cherokee scalps. (5)

Coincidentally, James Colbert's influence in British colonial circles rose phenomenally, for in 1763 he was the man primarily responsible for the meeting that occurred at Augusta, Georgia, between British officials and principal Indian chiefs. Colbert took a tour of the Indian country that began at Augusta on July 13, covered the Upper Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw countries, and ended again at Augusta on November 3. Two days later, on November 5, over 700 Indian chiefs and warriors met with British Indian Superintendent John Stuart and the Governors-General of the Colony of North Carolina. Colbert acted as official interpreter for the Chickasaws and Choctaws, while trader John Watts acted as Cherokee interpreter and John Proctor acted in a similar capacity for the Creeks (6). The conference opened formal relations between the Southern Indians and the British. On November 3, 1764, Colbert was again commissioned to secure Chickasaw and Choctaw attendance at a conference with the British, and his work resulted in the successful Mobile Indian Congress of March and April, 1765 (7). At the conference, Paya Mattaha and other chiefs quickly dispelled rumors that the tribe held any resentment toward Colbert's expanding landholdings in the Chickasaw Nation.

The French left North America in 1763, and administration of the Southeastern United States passed to the victor of the French and Indian War, Great Britain. The southern portions of Alabama and Mississippi were coupled with the panhandle of Florida to form the colony of British West Florida. Major George Johnstone was appointed Governor, and a veteran soldier named John Stuart was selected as British Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department. One of the primary results of the Mobile Indian Congress of 1765 was a promise by Stuart that an agent or commissary would be appointed to each of the Southern tribes. The agent's responsibility would be to live among the Indians, regulate trade, restrict the sale of alcohol, insure the allegiance of the tribe to British interests, and administer all aspects of British Indian policy. While the Chickasaw agency perhaps should have gone to James Colbert or to James Adair, spending his last years among the tribe, Stuart in 1766 selected his distant kinsman, thirty-nine year old John McIntosh. McIntosh, married and the father of a son, also named John, chose for his home a site in the Choctaw country, since his full title was "Commissary to the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations". No doubt he and James Colbert developed a strong friendship for each other, having immigrated together to America many years earlier. Since that time, McIntosh had spent his time farming and soldiering from his home at Darien, Georgia. In 1770, McIntosh moved to the Chickasaw country, setting up a valuable plantation about seven miles south of present Pontotoc, Mississippi, called "Tockshish". In December, 1771, he and James Colbert joined Mingo Home in representing the Chickasaws at a second Mobile Indian Congress (8).

The 1770s were generally a placid decade for the warlike Chickasaws, even though the American Revolution broke out in North

America in a life threatening situation. Indians out of production of did much to come victim of unknown attack habit, and tribe. The was one com yesterday t was another "haughty", Nation flood anti-British years that illies were ssaw family had origina these were

While neutrality was called assignment munitions assumed w 1776 the Henry Stu 100 horse of this r pronged a attack sa Raven War of east Colbert's the Myst of the I Carolina

Everolution tain in Florida a new se in time Third wa Jefferson brought McIntosh Chickas the Chi fell to British charge

Colonial
marily
rgia,
lbert
n July
asaw
ays
met
ernors-
official
John
in a
ed
ish. On
Chick-
sh, and
of
and
ny
hick-

ion
ne
of
Florida
ohn-
hn-
irs
the
an
rn
ne
e the
all
y

ted
tosh,
is

he
n
h".

(8).

orth

America in April, 1775. The decade saw the purity of Chickasaw life threatened by rum peddlers who frequently bilked the Indians out of valuable pelts for watered down rum. The introduction of a generally lower class of traders in the decade also did much to lower the morals of the Chickasaw people, who became victim to venereal disease, consumption, and other heretofore unknown ailments. Horse stealing also became a popular Chickasaw habit, and European visitors had little good to say about the tribe. The traders were "the very scum and outcast of the earth" was one comment (9). "Most of the traders here are so honest that yesterday the Chickasaws voted to kick all of them out but ten" was another (10). The Indians themselves were described as "Cruel", "haughty", and "insolent". The 1770s and the 1780s also saw the Nation flooded with Loyalists from the Carolinas and Virginia as anti-British sentiment swept those colonies. It was during these years that the notable Pickens, Albertson, Burney, and Love families were begun in the Chickasaw country (other notable Chickasaw families, such as the Kemps, James, Sealeys, and Perrys, had originated in the 1750s and 1760s, though apparently none of these were as old as the Colbert line).

While the Chickasaw tribe initially followed a course of neutrality during the Revolution, James Colbert as a leading Tory was called upon by his British superiors for support. His primary assignment was to assist John Stuart in the distribution of munitions to the militantly pro-British Cherokees. It was a task assumed with relish by Colbert, and from June through August of 1776 the Chickasaw trader joined Deputy Indian Superintendent Henry Stuart and Cherokee trader Nathaniel Gist in bringing over 100 horseloads of munitions to the Cherokees (11). As a result of this new backing by the British, the Cherokees opened a three-pronged attack on the American settlements on July 20, 1776. That attack saw Cherokee warriors under Dragging Canoe, Abram, and Raven Warrior blast the Holston, Cumberland, and Clinch valleys of east and central Tennessee. American authorities, aware of Colbert's role in the Cherokee raids, noted that he was "deep in the Mystery of Bush fighting, conversant in the Manners & Customs of the Indians, and quite familiar to the frontiers of North Carolina and Virginia" (12).

Events brought the Chickasaws directly into the American Revolution. First was the declaration of war by Spain on Great Britain in June, 1779, and the resultant Spanish takeover of West Florida in 1780. Second was the establishment by the colonies of a new settlement on the Cumberland River in central Tennessee which in time became known as Nashville, located on Chickasaw land. Third was the erection by the Americans of a military post, Fort Jefferson, on Chickasaw land in extreme western Kentucky. The first brought apprehension to such stalwart Loyalists as Colbert and McIntosh, the other two tribal anger over a wanton disregard for Chickasaw land claims. Stuart kept a line of communication open to the Chickasaws until his death in April, 1779, and then the task fell to Major-General John Campbell, commanding officer of all British troops in Florida. John McIntosh as agent was placed in charge of raising Chickasaw troops for the British war effort, but

was able to accomplish little before his death at Tockshish in June, 1780.

With McIntosh's death, James Colbert assumed the unofficial role of British agent to the Chickasaws. The role of a military leader was to be his forte. On June 5, 1780, he and three of his sons shocked the Spanish by capturing three of their soldiers within the city limits of Mobile (13). On November 23, 1780, General Campbell commissioned Colbert a captain in the British Army with authorization to raise a force of Indians and Tories to "harass the King's Enemys" (14). The fifty-one year old adventurer surrounded himself with a group of staunch Loyalists and Chickasaw leaders dedicated to the British cause. Like himself, they all hated Spain with fierce intensity. No doubt the most important of these men was a fast-rising chief, Piomingo ("The Mountain Leader"). Born in 1750 of a Cherokee father and a Chickasaw mother, Piomingo was chief of the village of Longtown (Chuckafalaya), the southernmost tribal settlement. The aged Mingo Homa was still ardently attached to the British interests, but oddly enough, Pays Mattaha, the principal warrior, threw aside fifty years of British allegiance to support a dovish faction of Chickasaws against intervention in the white man's war. Colbert worked diligently to shape his Chickasaw braves and Tory volunteers into a viable force capable of attacking both the Spanish and their American allies, and was supplied primarily by John Turnbull, an American Loyalist who had come from Nashville to the Chickasaw country. As his chief military lieutenants, Captain Colbert chose James McGillivray, a longtime trader among both the Creeks and the Cherokees, and Benjamin Sealy, a longtime Chickasaw trader. Major members of Colbert's force included his sons and Loyalists Thomas Love, Simon Burney, James Gunn, and Bennett Bellew, as well as a Chickasaw mixed blood named Robert Thompson.

Colbert's force swelled to the number of 200 Indians and 150 Tories by the end of 1780 and based their operations on the Wolf River, a few miles east of where it flowed into the Mississippi near present Memphis, Tennessee. It is probable that this force took part in the Cherokee raids that took place against the Cumberland settlements during the winter of 1780-1781. These raids saw hundreds of Indians storm the Cumberland stations, kill settlers, steal livestock, and generally win a successful war of attrition against the Americans. Colbert's name is not mentioned, neither is it definite that the Chickasaws took part in the raids, but a later peace treaty indicated prior hostilities and Colbert's willingness to prosecute the war for his British allies and the Chickasaw contempt for the Cumberland squatters seems to indicate their participation. Cherokee raiders under Dragging Canoe carried the brunt of the attacks, ranging all over eastern and central Tennessee.

The next phase of Colbert's career is not so mysterious. The old Scot directed his attention toward Fort Jefferson in the spring of 1781. The post, erected upon the order of Virginia

Governor
cally a
Ballard
five mi
post wa
George
in the
Captain
attacked

Th
saw Col
and fai
histori
sneaked
later s
war in
to do
under
fort.
to pie
Though
abando

F
joyed
to str
captur
Colber
ture o
a St.
wife o
Colber
but in
capabl
a viol
ade s
his t
famil
force
to bu
relea
as pr

and a
der t
1781.
death
of th
nor M
for t
at Sp
that

Governor Thomas Jefferson, was situated at a place known locally as the "Iron Mine" or the "Iron Banks", now located in Ballard County, Kentucky. Situated on Mayfield Creek, about five miles from its junction with the Mississippi River, the post was at best of little military importance. Yet Colonel George Rogers Clark, the famed hero of the American Revolution in the west, had established the post and left in charge a Captain George. In May, 1781, James Colbert's Chickasaw forces attacked the post.

The attack on Fort Jefferson was an eight day affair which saw Colbert besiege the post, unsuccessfully try to storm it, and fail to negotiate for its surrender (15). According to historian Dale Van Every, on one occasion George Rogers Clark sneaked through Colbert's lines disguised as an Indian, then later sneaked out (16). Had Colbert captured Clark, the entire war in the west might have been different. Yet Colbert failed to do so. Following unsuccessful talks with Captain George under a flag of truce, Colbert sent his entire force against the fort. George turned swivels on the attackers and blasted several of them to pieces, wounding Colbert three times and breaking the siege (17). Though Colbert lost the encounter, his attack did cause Clark to abandon the fort on June 8.

Following the Fort Jefferson attack, Colbert's forces enjoyed a comparative lull in fighting. They continued, however, to strike frequently from their Wolf River outpost to harass or capture Spanish vessels on the Mississippi. On May 2, 1782, Colbert, McGillivray, and Sealy engineered the successful capture of a Spanish boat commanded by Don Silbestre D'Labaddia, a St. Louis merchant. The cargo was impressive: Senora Cruzat, wife of the Spanish commandant at St. Louis, and her children. Colbert, whom Labaddia described as "a man of some sixty years, but in good health, with a strong constitution, active and capable of enduring the greatest hardships in war and possessing a violent temper", held the Cruzats until May 22 in a log stockade several miles up Wolf River. Although Colbert spent much of his time heaping verbal abuse on Labaddia, he treated the Cruzat family well. The boat's cargo was distributed among members of his force, several slaves were auctioned off, and Labaddia was forced to buy his boat back with a promissory note. On May 22, Colbert released the Cruzats and Labaddia, though he kept the boat's crew as prisoners of war (18).

English fortunes failed as the American Revolution continued, and all fighting ceased with General Charles Cornwallis' surrender to Washington's troops at Yorktown, Virginia, in October, 1781. Colbert, perhaps the leading Tory in the south after the death of Stuart, was a particular exception. Following the release of the Cruzats, he tried unsuccessfully to negotiate with Governor Miro of Spanish Louisiana (sold by France to Spain in 1762) for the release of several Tories who had led an aborted revolt at Spanish Natchez earlier in the war. Miro's refusal and comment that Colbert and his army were no more than an undisciplined mob

ruffians brought a stiff retort from the aging Chickasaw leader on October 9, 1782:

I receivd yours of the 29th July this day Wherin you mention as follows Concerning the late Inhabitents of the Notches Which you Term as Rebels & Signifys in yours As I harbourd them Rebles. Now Sir you Ought to be the Last Person that Should Even mention Anything of that Nature to me when you Upheld Mr. Willing in Robing & plundering the Inhabitents on the Mississippi before war was Ever declared between the Crown of great Brittain & his Catholick majesty notwithstanding I never mein to Uphold or harbour Rebles of Any Kind for those People that Left the Notches I do not Look Upon them as Rebles Neither do I emagine they were even your Subjects therefore I can but Look on them as Other English Subjects. You Signify in your letter as though I had no right to go to war Without an authaurity. I would have you to know that I have as much Authaurity to distress my kings Enymys As you have to maintain Notches Or Any Other place in behalf of your King therefore the Prisoners I may take you may depend I shall Look On as prisoners of War & Keep Them As Such till proper Exchanges are made for them. I am well Satisfyed with your Humanity in Regard of not Setting the Indians on White People. I have prevailed With my Indians to make Peace both With you & the Americans & with all the world as it is proper that no Indians Ought to Interfare with what Concerns none but white. As for the White People that left Notches I must blame them for Not Remaining in Peace till was desided between great Brittain and Spain. Do not think that Capn Blommart had no Authaurity for what he did for he as well as many Others had from Genl. Campbell--Therefore I desire you will Return the Prisoners I wrote for & at the Same time I shall Return those I have here. If not I shall detain them As Such further Orders...(19)

Captain Colbert turned his attention to Spanish military posts in 1783, finally putting into operation plans he had held for at least a year. Yet he must have known that further military action was futile, for preliminary articles of peace had already been drawn up between Great Britain and the colonies. But in the spring of 1783 Colbert led a quick, inconclusive raid on a Spanish post in Upper Louisiana, and followed it with a more daring raid on Fort Carlos III on the Arkansas River on April 17. Colbert's 120 Tories and 60 Chickasaws laid seige to Fort Carlos for eight days, only to withdraw when reinforcements arrived to assist the Spanish garrison (20). This was Colbert's last battle, for on September 3, 1783, the state of war ended with England's recognition of an independent United States of America and Spain's simultaneous takeover of the Floridas. Left without a cause, the old Chickasaw trader released his prisoners and disbanded his forces.

Fate
Colbert.
and a sla
for St. A
arrived t
highly d
bution fo
wanted by
needed to
against t
he desire
November

The le
Bahama
Miller
Bowles

Fate was destined to cut short the life of James Logan Colbert. Late in October, 1783, he and his youngest son, James, and a slave supposedly named Caesar mounted horses and set out for St. Augustine on the east coast of Florida. Though they arrived there without incident, the chores ahead were to be highly distasteful. The Spanish demanded heavy sums of retribution for the vessels and cargo seized by Colbert, his men were wanted by American and Spanish authorities as pirates, and he needed to get reassurances that Great Britain would support him against these claims. Apparently he did not get all the support he desired, for a letter written by him at St. Augustine on November 12 was filled with gloom:

I came to this place, 5 Nov. last, and have been detained by sickness every since but am now in a recovering way and shall set out for the Choctaw Nation in a few days. I left my home and came here on account of my exertions against His Majesty's enemies, and as peace is concluded, large demands are made by the Spaniards. I don't know how far their influence may extend with the Indians of their party toward seizing on my property in that country. I expect attempts will be made and I hardly know how to act on the subject. I thank you for the trouble you have always taken on my account and am glad to hear that you have been fortunate enough to recover the amount of my bill. I am sorry that I am constrained to draw on you for my part of the sum that is in your hands but, having lost my horses, they being stolen at the time of my illness, have drawn on you for 50 pounds in favor of Messrs. Panton, Leslie and Co. The residue, with such other monies as you may receive from me, you will please keep in your hands and appropriate for the use and benefit of my son, James Colbert, and as I don't know how the case may happen to be with me yet, being in the greatest danger from exasperated enemies, left and forsaken by the very power that I have strenuously endeavored to support and defend, and by looking forward, I expect I may have many difficulties to encounter. I have left my son in the care of Messrs. Panton, Leslie & Co., closely engaged in the business of their store. I hope he may be teachable, that he may be fit for such business... (21)

The letter was addressed to John Miller, senior partner in the Bahama based trading house of Miller, Bonhamy, and Company. This Miller was the same who later backed adventurer William Augustus Bowles in his effort to unseat Alexander McGillivray as Principal

Chief of the Creeks.

James Logan Colbert, having disposed of business, left St. Augustine in December, 1783. His return took him through the Creek Nation, and at the village of Little Tallassie on the Coosa River he found Alexander McGillivray. Although barely twenty-five years of age, McGillivray was already principal chief of his tribe. Born at "Apple Grove", the home of his trader father, Lachlan McGillivray, in 1759, he, like Colbert, was an avid supporter of British interests among the Indians. His mother, Sehoy Marshand, was a mixture of French and Creek, her father having served at Fort Toulouse in the Creek country, her mother being a Creek princess of the ruling Wind clan. Alexander lived in opulence beside the Coosa in a well-built log cabin bordered with apple trees and surrounded by acres of cultivated land worked by his numerous slaves. He had three wives to insure his happiness and the continuation of the McGillivray line. Even the racking cough of the incurable consumption that one day kill him failed to shake the determination of the young chief. Educated at Charleston and Savannah, and a deputy British agent to the Creeks at nineteen, he harbored a bitter hatred of the Americans. The Georgians had, in 1775, confiscated his father's holdings in that colony as a consequence of his Tory leanings, driving the old trader back to Dunnglass, Scotland, in disgust. The two men, James Colbert and Alexander McGillivray, were the staunchest of friends, just as Colbert and Lachlan McGillivray had been in Georgia decades earlier. Oddly enough, Alexander would soon become Spain's closest friend among the Southern Indians, just as Colbert had been their bitterest detractor. Colonel James McGillivray, Colbert's lieutenant during the war, was a blood relative of Alexander, and both were related to former Chickasaw Commissary John McIntosh, another of Colbert's close associates in life. After spending a short time with McGillivray, Colbert was forced to take leave of him and continue his journey toward the Chickasaw country.

Colbert's path carried him northwest from the Coosa, and there tragedy struck. Three days after leaving McGillivray's home, the trader's horse reared back and threw him to an instant death. McGillivray informed Spanish authorities of their enemy's demise on January 7, 1784. "His horse Threw Him down & Kill'd him before his slave could assist him", he wrote (22). The progenitor of the Colbert family, dead, was apparently buried where he fell someplace in western Alabama.

He is very

-Wi

The Ch.
Even in the
the British
who favored
can Revolu
who favored
nation of J
by Paysa Mat
the enterpr
was split i
act without

The en
Dangling as
British, we
Piomingo, a
were prima
alternative
this chaoti
inent Chick
pling injur
his life,
Mattahs di
Colbert's
vacuum was
British pa
Piomingo,
and succes

The
groups was
saw both p
On Novembe
major rol
tlers fol
French Li
signing o
protectio
Treaty of
the tribe
ments pro

"He is very imprudent".

-William Blount of George Colbert, 1795

Chapter Two: The Rising Star

The Chickasaws had never been a politically unified people. Even in the era of the Choctaw wars when most tribesmen favored the British, there was a small element led by Mayatabe and others who favored peaceful coexistence with the French. During the American Revolution, Paya Mattaha led a small contingent of tribesmen who favored Spain and consequently worked actively to rid the nation of James Colbert. Fortunately for Colbert, he was backed by Paya Mattaha's brother, Mingo Homa, the Chickasaw king, and by the enterprising young warrior, Piomingo. Thus, though the nation was split in its European affections, Colbert's group was able to act without major hindrances during the war.

The end of the Revolution of course left the Chickasaw people dangling as far as European allies. Their ancient friends, the British, were gone. The Spanish were an anathema to Mingo Homa, Piomingo, and others who had fought under Colbert. The Americans were primarily unknown to the chiefs, but offered a possible alternative to the Spanish. An unfortunate stroke of luck during this chaotic period was the death or incapacitation of three prominent Chickasaw leaders. Mingo Homa late in 1783 suffered a crippling injury so severe that he was forced to crawl for the rest of his life, and consequently his position as King was vacated. Paya Mattaha died at "a great age" late in 1783 or early 1784. James Colbert's death came in January, 1784. Arising out of this power vacuum was a sharp division among the Indians that saw the old British party, now the American party, come under the leadership of Piomingo, and the old Spanish party headed by Mingo Homa's nephew and successor, Tascautaca ("The Hare-Lipped King").

The primary prerequisite for Chickasaw allegiance to European groups was trade, and the year following the cessation of hostilities saw both political parties try to establish a fair amount of trade. On November 6, 1783, Piomingo and Mingo Homa, in the latter's last major role as king, signed a peace treaty with the Cumberland settlers following a two day conference at Nashville (then known as French Lick). This was countered on June 21, 1784, with Tascautaca's signing of a treaty at Mobile which placed the Chickasaws under the protection of Spain. Piomingo's faction reacted by negotiating the Treaty of Hopewell in South Carolina on January 10, 1786, by which the tribe was placed under American protection. Each of the documents provided for the establishment of strong trading systems, but

to no avail. Throughout the 1780s, the two intratribal factions struggled for power, with neither side gaining a clear advantage.

The Chickasaw political situation was the result of outside influences, particularly the power struggle between Spain and the infant United States of America over control of the Old Southwest. During the Revolution, Spain had captured British East and West Florida, and by the Treaty of Versailles, September 3, 1783, she retained that territory. Naturally she claimed that her new territory extended to the limits of the old British Floridas, but British and American commissioners had secretly restricted Spain's landholdings to an area south of the 31st latitude. Throughout the 1780s, Governor Miro of Spanish Louisiana, protector of the new lands, chose to go the diplomatic route with his protests, but to no avail.

During these years, the 1780s, the sons and daughters of James Logan Colbert grew to maturity. All apparently lived quietly within the realm of Oldtown. The silence was broken in the spring of 1788, when the Spaniards noted that one of the sons was married to a sister of one of Alexander McGillivray's wives, and that the marriage had been perpetrated by the latter in order to gain the friendship of the Chickasaws (1). The son was William Colbert, born about 1750; the woman was Jessie Moniac, daughter of a Creek trader named John Moniac and the sister to McGillivray's wife (2). Jessie's father had come among the Creeks in the 1760s, married a Tuckabatche, and acted as McGillivray's personal interpreter until his death of "the dry bellyache" in June, 1787. Her brother, Samuel Moniac, had then assumed the interpretive position.

While William Colbert was establishing a home with Jessie Moniac, George Colbert, born about 1764, was making plans to move to his father's "old place". As early as 1782, observers had noted that James Colbert lived "in a very fine house" with properties that included 150 slaves (3). George's announcement of the move came in a letter to John Turnbull and John Joyce, traders at Walnut Hills (Los Nogales to the Spanish, the present Vicksburg, Mississippi) (4). Just where James Colbert's "old place" was located is not clear, although we think George may have been referring to the site in present Colbert County, Alabama, where he did later relocate. If so, then George's proposed relocation was certainly premature, for the Chickasaws were on the verge of war with the Creeks, and a home seventy miles from Oldtown would afford inadequate protection. George's letter came in August, 1788, but there is no evidence that he completed his move at that time.

History has not recorded any of the activities of James Colbert's eldest daughter, of Samuel Colbert, or of Joseph Colbert, and we will drop our discussion of them here. The daughter may have died as an infant, or married, but at any rate we know nothing of her. There is some evidence that Samuel Colbert lived well into the nineteenth century, married a girl named Nancy,

and fat
If so,
lived c
likewis
an inte
Samuel
compile
Ca

Susan,
began
fullbl
and ra
years
St. Au
lish.
jamin
Colber
one Ja
Allen,
T

during
forefr
more m
disput
While
the Un
far m
ship
south
India
settl
tribe
tain
The
gene
ivra
soli
Geor
aims
that
Span
Amer

supp
Amer
inf
town
sev
thr
Wil

and fathered several children later adopted by his brothers. If so, then Samuel assumed the role of the common Indian and lived out his life in comparative anonymity. Joseph Colbert likewise spent his life in obscurity, emerging only to act as an interpreter for a Chickasaw missionary in 1799. Neither Samuel or Joseph appear on the first detailed Chickasaw census, compiled in 1818.

Captain James Colbert's other children--Levi, James, and Susan, spent the late 1780s at Oldtown, where they married and began increasing the Colbert stock. Levi took for himself two fullblood Chickasaw wives, Te-mush-shar-hoc-tay and Mintahoyo, and raised a large family. James, born about 1768, and nine years younger than Levi, returned to the Chickasaw country from St. Augustine by 1789 with the ability to read and speak English. He soon married Susan James, a Choctaw whose father, Benjamin James, was an American agent among the Choctaws. Susan Colbert, youngest of the Captain's children, took for a husband one James Allen, a white man, bore him a daughter named Peggy Allen, and disappeared from history in 1800 (5).

The 1790s proved a decade of considerable chaos, but it was during this time that the Colbert name again emerged into the forefront of Chickasaw affairs. The new crisis revolved around a more militant attempt by the Spanish to assert authority over the disputed tract of land between the 31st and 32nd 30' parallels. While Miro had sought a peaceful settlement of this problem with the United States, his successor, Hector de Carondelet, chose a far more stringent attitude. Carondelet asserted Spanish ownership of lands as far north as the 35th parallel, the present southern boundary of Tennessee, and adopted the idea of a vast Indian state to act as a buffer between the Spanish and American settlements. Consequently he sent agents among the Southern tribes with orders to secure their allegiance, dispatching Captain Juan De La Villebeuvre to the Chickasaws and Choctaws. The Governor's plans to secure the alliance of the Indians were generally successful. The Creeks, under the influence of McGillivray (by now a commissioned General in the Spanish army), were solidly attached to Spain and continued to make raids on the Georgia frontier. The Cherokees unwittingly abetted Carondelet's aims through the continuation of a war on the Tennessee frontier that had begun in 1776. The Choctaws fell significantly under Spanish influence, but took no offensive action against the Americans.

Only among the Chickasaws did the Americans find significant support, primarily due to the total abstention as yet of the American people from squatting on Chickasaw lands and the personal influence of the avidly pro-American chief, Piomingo. The Longtown chief, eloquent, courageous, and a personal friend of several Cumberland settlers, was an unceasing ally of the Americans throughout his life. The two most active of the Colbert brothers, William and George, sided with Piomingo, and in October, 1791,

they followed him to the Ohio country. There they aided American General Arthur St. Clair against the hostile Indians of the Northwest. Fortunately, they were far away on a scouting expedition when St. Clair's army was ambushed and devastated on November 4 (6).

The allegiance of the Colberts and Piomingo to the United States was rewarded in August, 1792, when they received large oval medals and rifles from Governor William Blount of the Southwest Territory (officially known as the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio", this area included Kentucky, Tennessee, and those portions of Mississippi and Alabama north of the 31st parallel) (7). The action came at the Nashville Indian Conference of August 7-15, 1792, which was attended by some 250 Chickasaws, 107 Choctaws, and 23 Cherokees. The conclave had been sanctioned by President George Washington for a two-fold purpose, first to strengthen the U.S.-Indian friendships, and second to "publicly to present to Piomingo, the Colberts, and their followers, who joined the armies of the United States last year, and fought against their enemies, hearty and sincere thanks for their services" (8). Oddly enough, the Americans also took the opportunity to condemn the actions of a Cherokee chief named Doublehead, who had been killing Americans with great vigor for the past four years. Little did Blount, or General Andrew Pickens, who made the speech, know that Doublehead was then or would shortly become the father-in-law of George Colbert.

A general war between the Chickasaws and the Creeks broke out in February, 1793, as a result of depredations on the part of McGillivray's pro-Spanish Creeks. McGillivray, irate over Piomingo's refusal to bring the Chickasaws into a general Indian confederation backed by Spain, had ordered attacks on the Chickasaws for years. In July, 1787, he had killed Georgia's agent to the tribe, William Davenport, as the agent was building a home for himself near Oldtown. Two years later, a Creek war party killed a brother and nephew of Piomingo during an attack on some North Carolina frontiersmen. In 1790 McGillivray's warriors openly insulted the Chickasaws by firing on and killing five members of an American peace-seeking mission under John Doughty as the group passed Bear Creek in the Chickasaw country. When on February 9, 1793, a group of Creeks killed one of Piomingo's warriors at Longtown, the long-suffering chief went to war.

For perhaps the first time in fifty years, the entire Chickasaw tribe mobilized for war. While twenty-eight Chickasaws headed by John and Thomas Brown drafted a letter to the President asking for munitions, a detachment of warriors stormed into the home of trader William Hardy Perry and killed four visiting Creeks. Other war parties headed for the Creek country,, while Piomingo journeyed to Natchez and New Orleans to register protests with the Spanish. Piomingo, unyielding in his quest for vengeance against the Creeks, prevented irate Chickasaw warriors from killing three

visiting
was one
raids on
Will

in the
it seem
during
Captain
of the
Juan De
to Spai
in the
to the
war by
by join
excepti
Gayoso
that th
stood a
own sta
peace r
contin
ington
delphi
T

factic
that A
father
in Apr
allegi
when t
July 1
on Jul
mingo
wester
issipi
annuit
mingo
where
same I
James
Turtl

at Fa
Almos
a let
(foun
1792)
bert"
ville

American
the
expe-
on

United
arge
e
the
Ala-
the
s at-
ees.
ngton

o, the
e
nearty
he
of
ricans
, or
le-

ake
rt
er
dian
hick-
nt

party
some

mem-
as
on

ick-
eaded
king
of
cher
-
e
t the

visiting Cherokees in February; one of these, Bloody Fellow, was one of Doublehead's principal lieutenants in prosecuting raids on the American frontier.

William and George Colbert apparently had taken little part in the American-Spanish struggle for control of the nation, and it seems likely that they were following a policy of neutrality during the new war with the Creeks. George joined Piomingo and Captain William Glover on February 11 in informing Carondelet of the imminent war, a letter that came less than a month after Juan DeLaVilleauvre informed the Governor of Colbert's allegiance to Spain (9). William Colbert was visiting his wife's relatives in the Creek Nation when war broke out, and was forced to flee to the Choctaw Nation (10). Apparently both brothers opposed the war by spring, for on May 25, 1793, they disappointed Piomingo by joining Wolf's Friend, a leader of the Spanish faction, in accepting peace overtures from the Creeks. By October, Governor Gayoso of the Spanish Natchez District was informing Carondelet that the Colberts had abandoned Piomingo and that chief now stood alone (12). Credence to this remark comes from Piomingo's own statement at Longtown on June 1, during Creek-Chickasaw peace negotiations, that he was alone in his insistence for continued war. In September, 1793, when Piomingo answered Washington's long-standing request to visit the capital at Philadelphia, he took none of the Colberts with him (13).

The temporary defection of the Colberts from Piomingo's faction was short-lived. Though William, "his beloved Wayther, that Always Gose with him, to War, or Else Where, the latter's father, & young John Brown" visited Spanish officials at Natchez in April, 1794 (14), he and George soon showed their sincere allegiance to the Americans. That opportunity came in June, when they accompanied Piomingo to Philadelphia, where they arrived July 10 (15). The chiefs received a certificate from Washington on July 21 guaranteeing to the tribe all lands claimed by Piomingo at the Nashville Indian Conference, encompassing all of western Kentucky, central and western Tennessee, northern Mississippi, and northwestern Alabama. They also received a \$3000 annuity in consequence of their aid to St. Clair in 1791. Piomingo and William Colbert then journeyed to the Ohio country, where they joined the army of General Anthony Wayne against the same Northwestern Indians. The two Chickasaws, along with chief James Underwood and others, were on hand when Wayne crushed Little Turtle's Indians at Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794 (16).

George Colbert evidently did not participate in the battle at Fallen Timbers, though some records indicate that he did. Almost irrefutable evidence against his participation comes in a letter from American agent to the Chickasaws James Robertson (founder of Nashville in 1779 and appointed Chickasaw agent in 1792) dated August 31, 1794, stating that "Captain George Colbert" and two other Chickasaws were then passing through Knoxville enroute home from Philadelphia (17). While Piomingo wound

his way home in November, George and William Colbert (who had come home directly from Ohio) heard reports that he had been ambushed by Creeks. What happened was almost comedy, but potentially tragic. The two Colberts, despite the pleadings of their brother, Levi, set up an ambush at the mouth of Bear Creek on the Tennessee River. When a canoe of Indians happened to pass by, the Colberts attacked it, killing one of the Indians and capturing four others. To their alarm they discovered their prisoners to be Cherokees. Picmingo returned home safely later, and Blount and Robertson had to work diligently to avert a war between the Cherokees and Chickasaws.

A general disintegration of relations between the Chickasaws and Creeks led to renewed hostilities between the two great Indian nations in the winter of 1794-1795. In January, William Colbert and a band of Chickasaw warriors took five Creek scalps on the Duck River in the Chickasaw country, perhaps in retaliation for raids by the Creeks against the Cumberland settlers and Chickasaw hunters during the previous four months (18). On January 13, Colbert and a party of 100 Chickasaws that included his Creek wife and several of his children, carried the scalps to agent Robertson at Nashville (19). The white citizens there, frustrated by twelve years of Creek depredations, treated the Chickasaw entourage with affection. Robertson organized a lavish "Entertainment" for Colbert and his associates on the 14th, and on another occasion Colbert and others attended religious services. A company of cavalry was assigned to escort them while in the city (20). Meanwhile, on March 5, George Colbert and Picmingo wrote Robertson to inform him that the Chickasaws had killed ten more Creeks, thus having "Begun the fray" (21). While William Colbert negotiated with Cumberland leaders for assistance in prosecuting the war with the Creeks, the latter tried vainly to enlist the Cherokees in their cause. William Colbert left Nashville on April 20 with a detachment of fifteen Americans under General David Smith, and arrived at Oldtown on May 1. Ten days later, another Cumberland settler, Colonel Kasper Mansker, arrived with thirty-one more militia. General James Robertson also arrived in the Chickasaw villages to help repel any Creek invasion (22).

Hostilities by the Creeks began in early May, when a party of Chickasaws under Underwood and whites under Major James Coffield were attacked as they passed Dyer's Island in the Tennessee River enroute to the Chickasaw country with munitions from Nashville. Underwood, probably a brother of chief James Underwood of Fallen Timbers note, was killed, and Coffield was wounded. The attack signaled to Chickasaw leadership that the Creeks were intent on the extermination of the Chickasaw people. Mad Dog, new chief of the Upper Creeks following Alexander McGillivray's death at Pensacola on February 17, 1793, was the proponent of the anti-Chickasaw policy, being embittered over the Chickasaw murder of his son at Oldtown in 1793. On May 28, Mad Dog's warriors blasted their way into Oldtown, but were repulsed by Chickasaw and American forces under William Colbert and General Smith (23).

The startling defeat of Mad Dog's 2000 man force brought an unexpected cessation of hostilities. A Chickasaw peace talk of

June 13, 1
Cornell, t
people to
Colbert, G

Desp
William C
acting on
Nashville
The milita
nor, and b
Leaving J
William M
McGee and
ust. The
ton on Au
cesution
Colbert's
ities, an
the Creek
by underw
Secretary
larly dif
President
Creeks. I
elegant
ficient.

Will
Virginia
twelve m
1795 (27
Colbert,
them to
ville by
October.
meeting
set of p
Colbert'
Picmingo
William
the Chic
tember 1

The
a thous
Mad Dog
the tim
some 20
sistanc
in terr
now str
Le
James
occasio
Bench C

had come
bushed by
ragic.
Levi,
ee River.
attacked
To their
ningo
work
aws.
kasaws and
ian
bert and
Duck
raids by
nters
et and
several
sh-
ears of
ection.
his
others
ed to
orge
hicks-
(21).
assis-
ed
t left
nder

ived
ived
)
y of
ld
ver
n
sig-

ne
la on
y,
in
wn,

June 13, 1795, was answered on July 27 by a letter from Alexander Cornell, the Creek interpreter, in which he urged the Chickasaw people to accept a ceasefire. The letter was addressed to Billy Colbert, George Colbert, Piomingo, and Ugula Yacabe (24).

Despite the assurances of Cornell, Mad Dog's son-in-law, William Colbert was not prone to believe the Creeks. Perhaps acting on the advice of his wife's relatives, William visited Nashville on July 22, 1795, to ask Blount for more guns (25). The militant Chickasaw chief got no satisfaction from the Governor, and believed the latter to be duped by the Creek peace talks. Leaving Jessie Moniac Colbert at Knoxville, he rounded up chiefs William McGillivray, John Brown, Piomingo, and interpreter Malcolm McGee and set out for Philadelphia. He arrived there in mid-August. The delegation received an audience with President Washington on August 22 but again received no encouragement in the prosecution of a new war with the Creeks. The Americans felt that Colbert's Duck River raid had initiated the new round of hostilities, and, at a time when they wished to normalize relations with the Creeks and the Spanish, they were unwilling to risk any upsets by underwriting the Chickasaw war hawks. Colbert also met with Secretary of War Timothy Pickering: "I found Major Colbert singularly difficult to please", wrote Pickering, "perhaps because the President would not satisfy his wishes in making war against the Creeks. I have given Major Colbert four hundred dollars to buy an elegant stallion, but he seemed to consider this sum as hardly sufficient. As I said before, it was not easy to please him" (26).

William Colbert's return journey took him by way of Lexington, Virginia, through Wythe Courthouse, Virginia, on to Abingdon, thence twelve miles southwest to Knoxville, where he arrived September 10, 1795 (27). There he and his entourage met James Kemp and James Colbert, members of another Chickasaw delegation that had preceded them to Philadelphia in July. Kemp had since been detained in Knoxville by an illness that was destined to keep him there until early October. James Colbert had acted as Kemp's interpreter during a meeting with President Washington, and as a result had received a set of plough irons from Secretary of War Pickering (28). William Colbert's delegation met again with Governor Blount, at which time Piomingo asked that his daughter be educated by the Americans. William and his crew then turned west toward central Tennessee, took the Chickasaw Trace from Nashville, and arrived at Oldtown on September 19 (29).

The returning Indians received shocking news. Two days earlier, a thousand Upper Creeks had invaded Oldtown at the instruction of Mad Dog. Most Chickasaw warriors had been away on the fall hunt at the time. According to the story, Levi Colbert had then mustered some 200 old men and boys to repel the attack. Levi's fierce resistance and an unaccountable panic had forced the Creeks to flee in terror; the bodies of twenty-six Creeks and seventeen Chickasaws now strew the villages (30).

Levi Colbert was a hero. He now joined William, George, and James in assuming a leader's role in Chickasaw affairs. To mark the occasion, Levi was elevated to the position of Itawamba-mingo, or Bench Chief, giving him the right to sit in an honored place during

meeting of the tribal council (31). Though the position was more honorary than functionary, Levi was now a man to be respected, an equal to his brothers. In time he would become probably the most influential of his father's sons.

The at least temporary resolution of the Creek problem was offset by actions of Spain. The Spanish used the Treaty of Los Nogales, signed between Gayoso and Wolf's Friend (Ugula Yacabe) on October 28, 1793, as their basis for the establishment of Fort San Fernando de las Barrancas at the Chickasaw Bluffs (present Memphis, Tennessee) in 1795. Piomingo and William Colbert protested the action while in Philadelphia that summer, but received no significant help from Washington. Though in October the Spanish agreed to abandon all posts north of the 31st parallel, Fort Barrancas remained garrisoned. The force there was headed by Benjamin Fooy, a native of Holland who once had resided in the Chickasaw country, and he used his influence with Wolf's Friend and other Chickasaws to maintain his position. The situation, embarrassing for the United States and Piomingo and William Colbert's faction of Chickasaws, remained at an impasse for some two years.

The United States, beleaguered by many problems, was at last able to assume action in the Fort Barrancas matter in the summer of 1797. Major Isaac Guion was directed to assume occupation of the fort and other Spanish-held posts in American territory, a task made significantly easier by Spain's refusal to finance Carondelet's colonial ambitions in the south. Benjamin Fooy moved his force without incident across the Mississippi River to present West Memphis, Arkansas. Guion got significant aid from several Chickasaws: from Piomingo and William Colbert, who sternly opposed Wolf's Friend's efforts to thwart the change; from James Colbert and James Allen, who supplied his soldiers with beef; and from John Brown, Thomas Brown, and John Frazier, halfbreeds who acted as his messengers (32). By January, 1798, Guion's business at Fort Barrancas (now christened Fort Pickering) was finished, and he journeyed south to oversee the American takeover at Natchez. Spain's dealings with the Chickasaws ended with the loss of Fort Barrancas, while their business with the United States was sharply curtailed by the creation of the disputed lands into the Mississippi Territory in April, 1798. The Chickasaw country was not brought under this umbrella until boundary disputes were cleared up with Georgia in 1802.

Relations between the Chickasaws and the Creeks were strained again in the latter 1790s by continued Creek raids upon Chickasaw properties, particularly horses and cattle. Major George Colbert was in Philadelphia in December, 1796, with a delegation of men that included Chickasaw interpreter Malcolm McGee, Choctaw interpreter John Pitchlynn, Cherokee interpreter James Carey, all white men, and Cherokee chief John Watts, and while there Colbert protested against the continued Creek depredations (33). George also took the opportunity to secure for himself \$700 as retribution for two negroes stolen from him earlier by Cherokees; the money was deducted from the 1797 Chickasaw annuity of \$3,000 (34). In June, 1797, George, along with interpreter William McLish and Captain George visited Creek agent Benjamin Hawkins to further protest the

raids (35).
February 1
note to W
spirit to
ing to th
The Creek
William C
iron out

Alth
and James
Chickasaw
1798. Pic
tory, sti
Friend, c
icans and
ousted Ta
king, Chi
and harm
control b
voices of
that incl

Late
at Longt
and two
assumed
delegate
tation a
tus, and
tribal l

An
the jour
ssaws in
Missiona
ate acco
begins o
home of
as his f
who wit
politely
soon on
sion was

On
country.
erty; on
gion, w
soul is
plain t
24, the
already
Colbert
ter, Su

was more
pected,
bly the
blem was
of Los
Yacabe)
nt of Fort
present
t pro-
received
he Spanish
Fort Bar-
y Benjamin
ickasaw
d other
rassing for
tion of

at last
summer
tion of
ry, a
nce Ca-
y moved
to present
veral
opposed
Colbert
from
acted
s at
, and he
z.
Fort
sharply
ssissippi
ught
with

trained
ckasaw
Colbert
men
nter-
white
pro-
also
n for
was
June,
sin
t the

raids (35). Apparently, however, the raids only grew worse, for on February 13, 1798, George Colbert was compelled to write a stern note to William Blount: "It is time now for a man that has any spirit to resent it", he wrote, "Don't be putting me off with sending to the President...these mad people must all be destroyed" (36). The Creek difficulties came to an end in September, 1798, when William Colbert and three other chiefs visited the Creek Nation to iron out differences (37).

Although the four notable Colbert sons-William, George, Levi, and James-were doubtlessly extending their influence among the Chickasaws, they were no means the most important tribal leaders in 1798. Picomingo, by far the most notable fullblood in Chickasaw history, still held the majority of tribesmen under his control. Wolf's Friend, cunning and mischievous in his dealings with both the Americans and Spanish, was a man of such influence that he personally ousted Tascutaca as King of the Chickasaws in July, 1792. The new king, Chinnubby, was a brother of Tascutaca. Fifty years old in 1794 and harmless, Chinnubby would reign twenty-eight years but never control his people's destiny. Picomingo and Wolf's Friend were the voices of the Chickasaw people, followed by a second line of chiefs that included the four Colberts and other mixed bloods.

Late in 1798, probably in November, Picomingo died and was buried at Longtown (38). Control of the tribe then fell to Wolf's Friend and two of the Colberts, William and George. Wolf's Friend actually assumed the informal title of principal chief of the tribe, but delegated much of his authority to the Colberts, who without hesitation accepted. William Colbert assumed the role of statesman emeritus, and it was George Colbert who began proving his mettle as a tribal leader of the first note.

An interesting view of the Colberts at this time is offered by the journal of the Reverend Joseph Bullen, a missionary to the Chickasaws in 1799 and 1800. Bullen, a representative of the New York Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Synod of New York, left accurate accounts of the Chickasaw tribe and its leaders. The journal begins on May 19, 1799, when he arrived sick, tired, and wet, at the home of "General" William Colbert (39). Bullen used Joseph Colbert as his interpreter. On May 22 he met Levi Colbert: "came to Levi's, who with his two wives, appears to live comfortably: here we were politely received, well fed, and kindly treated; with him we were soon on terms of agreeable familiarity; to him the design of our mission was disclosed, with which he was evidently pleased" (40).

On June 22, 1799, Bullen met James Colbert, "a native of this country, who has been baptized, reads and writes, is a man of property; one quarter Indian; is a sober man; knows something of religion, wishes his nation to know and observe the same; believes his soul is immortal; hope he shall regard its good; is disposed to explain the beloved speech, and my talks to the nation" (41). On June 24, the missionary formally married James and Susan (James) Colbert, already married by Indian law, and baptized two persons, including Colbert's son, Charles, and Peggy Allen, daughter of Colbert's sister, Susan (42).

Bullen took a temporary leave of absence from the Chickasaws on June 27, 1799, but returned on July 3, 1800. A new interpreter was found in Christopher Oxberry, a halfbreed Cherokee who was married to William Colbert's daughter, Molly. Bullen noted that Oxberry "can read some, and is quick of apprehension" (43). The missionary also reformed an association with a Chickasaw settler named James Gunn. Gunn was a Virginian who had settled among the Chickasaws in 1777 and was later to marry Christopher Oxberry's widow (44). On July 24, 1800, Bullen had the sad duty of preaching the funeral of young Charles Colbert; he had died the previous evening of a "distressing sickness". He preached from Isaiah: "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flowers of the field" (45).

The missionary did not enjoy success with the average Chickasaws, and so his mission drew to a conclusion in late August, 1800. On August 29 he talked with George Colbert: "George Colbert, a Chickasaw chief, called in a decent dress, and lodged here. He informed me how he and his brother Levi had laboured to further the pious and benevolent designs of the Society; that he, Levi, and a number of others, wish to learn good things: no get drunk, but work, make corn, cotton, cattle, hogs, & C." (46). The next day Bullen again met with Levi. On September 3 he bade farewell to William. On September 4 Bullen left the Chickasaw country for Jefferson County in the Mississippi Territory. In time he would become known as the "Father of Mississippi Presbyterianism" (47).

While Joseph Bullen was attempting to minister to the Chickasaws, events elsewhere were shaping up toward another Chickasaw-American conference. The United States, now sole claimant to lands in the Old Southwest, needed post roads to link the various wilderness settlements. One definite possibility for a post road was the Natchez Trace (Chickasaw Trace, Choctaw Path, Natchez Road), a series of Indian paths that cut southwest from Nashville, Tennessee to Natchez in the Mississippi Territory. The Trace entered the Chickasaw country about fifty miles south of Nashville, cut diagonally across 200 miles of Indian land, and left it about twenty miles south of present Houston, Mississippi, at the Chickasaw-Choctaw boundary. White men had used the path for decades; as early as 1785, a thousand persons a year were using it to bridge the gap from Natchez to Nashville. On June 28, 1800, therefore, the Congress of the United States appropriated the sum of \$20,000 for negotiations with the Chickasaws and Choctaws for the rights-of-way through their lands and improvements on the post road. The Secretary of War selected three prominent Indian experts to lead the negotiations- General James Wilkinson, senior officer in the United States Army; General Andrew Pickens of South Carolina; Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, onetime interpreter for the late General Washington and since 1796 United States agent to the Creeks.

Wilkinson, Pickens, and Hawkins found that they were to deal with the Colberts, particularly George, who was by now second chief behind Wolf's Friend, and James, who was gaining prominence as a Chickasaw interpreter. The commissioners arrived at Fort Pickering

at the Ch
right of
for white
began on

James Co
into cou
George C
William
vray, Ch
James Ro
discussi
Geo

Hawkins
treaty,
dred so
for the
St
the Uni
twelve
cutting
derbris
help of
In pres
of Bear
Throug
sary e
Missis
O
missio
The ne

Chickasaws
interpreter
who was
noted that
(43). The
new settler
among the
Oxberry's
of preaching
previous
siah: "All
the flowers

George Chicka-
August,
George Colbert,
here. He
further the
evi, and a
ak, but
next day
well to
ry for
e would
sm" (47).
e Chicka-
Chickasaw-
it to lands
ous wilder-
d was the
d), a
Tennessee,
ed the

ut diag-
twenty
asaw-
as early
the gap
the Con-
for
ts-of-way
e Secre-
d the
ne United
onel
Washing-

o deal
nd chief
as a
ckering

at the Chickasaw Bluffs on October 13, 1801, with orders to secure right of way for the road and to obtain permission from the chiefs for white settlers to operate lodges along the road. Negotiations began on October 21 with Wilkinson's address:

Brothers, on the part of your white brethern, we have to represent to you, that the path from the settlements of Natchez (through your nation) to those of Cumberland, is an uncomfortable one, and very inconvenient to them in its present unimproved condition; and we are directed to stipulate to you, to make it suitable to the accomodation of those who may use it, and at the same time beneficial to yourselves (48).

James Colbert informed the commissioners that the tribe would go into council before returning an answer. Then he, King Chinnubby, George Colbert, Mingo Mattaha, William Glover, Thomas Brown, William Colbert, James Underwood, Malcolm McGee, William McGillivray, Chickasaw agent Samuel Mitchell (who had succeeded General James Robertson in August, 1797), and others went into private discussion of the right-of-way question.

George Colbert delivered the tribe's answer the next day:

The nation agrees, that a wagon road may be cut through its land, but does not consent to the erection of houses for the accomodation of travelers. We leave that subject to future consideration, in order that time may enable our people to ascertain the advantages to be derived from it. In the meantime, travelers will always find provisions in the nation, sufficient to carry them through (49).

Hawkins, Pickens, and Wilkinson spent the next day writing a treaty, and it was signed by both parties on October 24. Seven hundred dollars worth of merchandise was given to the tribe in exchange for the right-of-way.

Since the Natchez Trace was already a series of crude paths, the United States had no more to do than improve it to a width of twelve feet. In effect, this meant surveyance of the route, the cutting of trees and brush, and the removal of stumps and other debris. The actual survey, done by Wilkinson's troops with the help of Samuel Mitchell and two Chickasaws, was completed in 1802. In present Alabama, the route was surveyed about three miles east of Bear Creek, at a point suggested by George Colbert (50). Through the Chickasaw country, there was little improvement necessary except in the hill country of present Tishomingo County, Mississippi, and Colbert County, Alabama.

Only four years elapsed before another set of American commissioners arrived in the Chickasaw country in search of a treaty. The new negotiations were at the instigation of President Thomas

Jefferson, who on February 9, 1802, had sent a secret message to Congress calling for the United States to purchase selected Indian lands south of the Ohio River. Of particular interest were the Chickasaw lands in Kentucky (admitted to the Union in 1792) and Tennessee (admitted in 1796). Of the Chickasaw lands, there were three areas of prime interest: first, the three and a half to four million acres lying north and east of the Tennessee River in Tennessee; second, the lands lying north and west of a line drawn from the mouth of Duck River to the Mississippi River in Tennessee; third, the lands between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in Kentucky. Secretary of War Henry Dearborn selected two veteran Indian experts, James Robertson, former Chickasaw agent, and Silas Dinsmore, the current Choctaw agent, to deal with the Chickasaws (51).

The Secretary of War sent a complete set of instructions to his commissioners on March 20, 1805. Robertson and Dinsmore were ordered to concentrate primarily on the lands north and east of the Tennessee River, then seek the other tracts. In light of the fact that most of the lands north of the Tennessee River were also claimed by the Cherokees, the commissioners were instructed to pay no more than two-thirds or three-fourths of the value of the land if it were undisputed property. Should there be more than 750,000 acres of uncontested land north of the Tennessee, Robertson and Dinsmore were to pay the Chickasaws up to \$12,000 for use in paying off debts to various trading houses. An annuity of \$2000 and goods valued at \$10,000 could also be offered. The Chickasaws were to be met in their principal town, and bribery was to be used if necessary (52).

Dearborn also had instructions for his commissioners to secure possession of the ferry sites owned by Colonel George Colbert. In a separate communication, Dearborn instructed them to allow the Colonel special "allowances" for his ferries on the Tennessee and Duck rivers. George was to get a perpetual annuity of up to \$160, a thousand dollars worth of merchandise, and a flat sum of \$2000 in exchange for the ferries. Should he refuse, the commissioners were told to have the Chickasaw tribal council exercise eminent domain over the ferries and then sell them to the government (53). Actually, George owned only the ferry on the Tennessee, about three miles east of Bear Creek at its crossing point on the Natchez Trace. The Duck River ferry was owned and operated jointly by William Colbert and John Gordon of Nashville according to an agreement made by the two men on February 4, 1804, and witnessed by none other than Andrew Jackson, John McNairy, William B. Lewis, and James Robertson. According to the "bargain between Wm. Colbert and John Gordon for Duck River", Gordon was "privileged to clear out and cultivate what lands he thinks proper for the use of the place and enjoy the same privilege his life term & his son John after him in conjunction with Colbert's son Jamison" (54). Unlike George, who resided at his ferry site, William chose to continue residing in the vicinity of Oldtown and let Gordon operate the ferry. George was aided in his operations by James and Levi Colbert. Levi moved from Oldtown to a site seven miles south of the Tennessee River on Buzzard Roost Creek, a tributary of Bear Creek. James, along with James Allen, moved several miles east of Levi along Carey Creek, which was generally regarded as the eastern

Chicka
T
lands
and Ch
lands
chell
in the
Compen
mense
the de
McGee,
and Jo
were r
the Ch
to inc
thereb
the In
B
Nation
a favo
secret
had le
ss Gov
weeks
time w
provis
Formal
his br
R
and Ch
John M
assemb
Chinnu
vray,
Willie
not st
Treaty
which
the Te
J
The Un
pay th
crease
change
If the
from t
pay \$1
into c
W
for th
the Ch
sought
those

ssage to
 ed In-
 est were
 1792)
 , there
 a half
 ee River
 line
 ver in
 poi rivers
 veteran
 and Silas
 ckasaws (51)
 ions to
 re were
 ast of
 t of the
 were also
 ed to pay
 the land
 750,000
 n and
 in pay-
 00 and
 saws
 be used
 to secure
 ert. In
 w the
 see and
 to \$160,
 \$2000
 ioners
 inent
 t (53).
 ut three
 ez
 by
 n agree-
 by none
 and
 bert
 clear
 the
 John
 nlike
 inue
 he
 Col-
 the
 Creek.
 evi
 rn

Chickasaw boundary.

The Chickasaws had summarily rejected the idea of selling
 lands on January 25, 1805, when George Colbert, Chinnubby, O'Koy,
 and Charles Fox informed President Jefferson that they had no
 lands to sell (55). Yet diligent research by agent Samuel Mit-
 chell showed that the tribe was indebted to various trading firms
 in the amount of \$20,000. The old British firm of Panton, Leslie &
 Company of Pensacola was by far the principal creditor. This im-
 mense debt was primarily the result of the tribe's having assumed
 the debts of its individual members. White countrymen like Malcolm
 McGee, James Gunn, James Allen, John McIntosh Jr., William Mizle,
 and John Gilchrist also owed money to Panton's firm in 1805, but
 were required by tribal law to pay their own debts. The amount of
 the Chickasaw debt, when uncovered by Mitchell, was great enough
 to incline several leading chiefs toward a cession. They would
 thereby be falling victim to Jefferson's announced policy of leading
 the Indian tribes into debt in order to get their land.

By the time Robertson and Dinsmore reached the Chickasaw
 Nation on July 6, 1805, Mitchell had brought the chiefs around to
 a favorable opinion on a cession. The commissioners and their
 secretary, Thomas A. Claiborne (whose brother, W.C.C. Claiborne
 had legal jurisdiction over the Chickasaw country in his capacity
 as Governor of the Mississippi Territory), spent their first few
 weeks in the nation as a guest of Wolf's Friend. Much of their
 time was spent in preparing for the negotiations and in disbursing
 provisions to the Indians, who daily came in numbers of 300 to 700.
 Formal proceedings were set for July 10, but George Colbert and
 his brothers requested a delay until the arrival of Chinnubby (56).

Robertson, Dinsmore, Claiborne, interpreters Malcolm McGee
 and Christopher Oxberry, agent Mitchell, former Cherokee agent
 John McKee, and Choctaw interpreter John Pitchlynn met with the
 assembled chiefs of the Chickasaw tribe at 11 a.m. on July 17, 1805.
 Chinnubby, George Colbert, O'Koy, Mingo Matthea, William McGillivray,
 and Levi Colbert composed the first line of chiefs present.
 William Colbert was at the Chickasaw Bluffs, and Wolf's Friend did
 not attend. Robertson's opening speech was a review of the Hopewell
 Treaty of 1786 and the Cherokees' Holston Treaty of 1791, documents
 which dealt with the Chickasaw-Cherokee dispute over lands north of
 the Tennessee River.

James Robertson then took the crux of his mission to the chiefs.
 The United States would give the Chickasaws \$12,000 with which to
 pay their debts, set aside another \$10,000 for merchandise, and in-
 crease the tribe's annuity from \$3000 to \$5000. All this in ex-
 change for the Chickasaw claim to the lands north of the Tennessee.
 If the tribe was willing only to sell those lands north of the line
 from the Duck River to the Mississippi River, the government would
 pay \$12,000 and increase the annuity to \$4,600. The Chickasaws went
 into council.

When the negotiations resumed on July 18, George Colbert spoke
 for the Indians. His lengthy speech began with the observation that
 the Chickasaws, not the Cherokees, had a better claim to the lands
 sought. He reiterated the tribe's position that they would not sell
 those lands until "all our land is perfectly clear of game". Instead,

he said, the tribe would agree to sell a tract running "down the river Cumberland to the public road Natchez Trace and along the same to the United States line". Colbert also informed the commissioners that he had delayed the negotiations in order to allow a Cherokee delegation time to arrive and settle any boundary disputes, but they had not yet arrived. With Robertson's agreement to consider Colbert's proposals, the council adjourned for the day (57).

Friday, July 19, was a day of serious dickering. The commissioners made two proposals. First, if the Chickasaws would sell all lands north of the Tennessee and east of the Natchez Trace, the government would pay them a \$12,000 annuity. Second, for lands north of the Buffalo and Duck rivers and east of the Trace, the United States would offer a \$1000 annuity and \$1,200 in cash. George Colbert responded by saying that he believed one dollar an acre would be a better price. Robertson quickly stated that he had offered the highest possible price. The conference adjourned for the day (58).

Saturday saw the Chickasaws decide to sell lands north of the Elk and Duck rivers in central Tennessee. George Colbert and O'Koy quickly informed the commissioners, and just as quickly a treaty was drafted. Three days later the two parties signed a document ceding all lands

beginning on the left bank of the Ohio, at the point where the present Indian boundary adjoins the same, thence down the left bank of the Ohio to the Tennessee River, thence up the main channel of the Tennessee River to the mouth of Duck River; thence up the left bank of the Duck River to the Columbian highway or road leading from Nashville to Natchez, thence along the said ridge to the great ridge dividing the waters running into the main Tennessee River from those running into Buffalo River near the main source of Buffalo River, thence in a direct line to the Great Tennessee River near the Chickasaw Old Fields or eastern part of the Chickasaw claim on that river; thence northwardly to the great ridge dividing the waters running into the Tennessee from those running into Cumberland River, so as to include all the waters running into Elk River, thence along the top of said great ridge to the place of beginning (59).

A one mile square tract of land on the south side of Duck River at its confluence with the Tennessee River was reserved for O'Koy. White settlement on a selected portion of the ceded land was prohibited for three years. For the cession, the Chickasaws received \$20,000. King Chinnubby was granted a lifetime annuity of one hundred dollars, and George Colbert and O'koy each received a thousand dollars for services. Three months later, the Cherokees, led by George Colbert's father-in-law, Doublehead, ceded to the United States their claim to the lands north of the Tennessee (60).

Phila
Rush
is ar
was
Colbe

Nutt

The vi

I
record
Chicka
cipal
reins
them,

the
ong the
mmis-
ow a
spates,
con-
(57).
mission-
ll
ne
ds
the
George
re
ffered
day (58).
the
'Koy
ty was
ding

Two weeks after the treaty was signed, a white man from Philadelphia visited the Chickasaw country. The diary of Dr. Rush Nutt, who spent a portion of August, 1805, among the Indians, is an invaluable source of information about the Colberts. He was one of several visitors who took a callous view of George Colbert:

George Colbert altho' he had declined sitting in council has more the ear of the nation, & more weight than any of his people. He is an artful designing man more for his interest, than that of his nation; having the ferries in his own family, & some valuable stages on the road. He being of the governing party, perhaps, causes the rest to be unwilling to grant the stages required on the road by the whites (61).

Nutt also came into contact with Levi and James Colbert:

7 miles this side of the river Tennessee lives Levi Colbert. On the 10th day in the morning I got to the ferry where General George Colbert lives, who owns the ferry. Himself, James & Levi, brothers, are halfbreeds & have slaves with whom they cultivate corn & garden vegetables & C. (62).

The visitor left a peculiar note about William Colbert:

General William Colbert (a halfbreed) packed 7 kegs of whiskey (21 gallons) from the Chickasaw Bluffs to where he lives within 20 miles of the Agency house --which being 120 miles. He made this journey in seven days, & drank out the last keg of whiskey the day he got home. This is more whiskey drank in a given time that I ever heard of, but it must be observ'd that the Indians are greatly imposed on by the seller of whiskey, as they never fail to adulterate it very much with water (63).

Dr. Rush Nutt's assessment of the Colberts is the last written record of the family prior to their complete domination of the Chickasaw political scene. Wolf's Friend, the able but aged principal chief of the tribe, died in the late summer of 1805. The reins of government were left to those best capable of handling them, the sons of Captain James Colbert. A dynasty had begun.

"The Colberts say they will part with their lands for the price the United States gets for theirs...these are high toned sentiments for an Indian".

--Andrew Jackson, 1818

Chapter Three: Power Uncontested

In the years immediately following the death of Wolf's Friend, the Colberts exercised absolute control over their people. There were no fullbloods capable of governing the tribe. Chinnubby, the king, was in his sixties and, as Rush Nutt put it, was no more than "a weak, well meaning old man". Tishomingo, another fullblood who had risen to the position of Principal Warrior, chose to follow the dictates of the Colberts. He was very old, supposedly born in 1736. Mixed blood leaders, led by William McGillivray ("Red Cat" or "Coahoma"), William Glover ("Olacta Opoye"), Samuel Sealy ("Mullen Pikta"), and James Brown, also looked to the Colberts for leadership. Other Chickasaw personages--men like James Allen, Christopher Oxberry, James Gunn, and Simon Burney--were already allied to the Colbert clan by marriage. Colbert nepotism even spread to other Southern Indian tribes. George's father-in-law, Doublehead, became principal chief of the Cherokees following the death of Little Turkey (uncle of Chickasaw leader Piomingo) in 1802. William's wife, Jessie Moniac, was a connecting link to the powerful Cornell, Tate, Moniac, Weatherford, and Durant families in the Creek Nation. James' wife, Susan, provided a link with the Choctaws, where her brother, George, was a minor chief in 1792. With each passing year, Colbert boys and girls of the third generation married and by doing so expanded the family's influence.

Colonel George Colbert dominated both the family and the tribal council in the years prior to the War of 1812. Most of his fame, or notoriety, came from his ferry on the Tennessee River. Built at the request of the United States government and manned primarily by slave labor, the ferry proved a financial boon to its owner. Ferry rates were fifty cents for pedestrians, a dollar for horse and rider (1). In 1803-1804, George's charges to the War Department for ferrying the Tennessee militia proved so high that Dearborn asked James Robertson, Cherokee agent Return J. Meigs, and Chickasaw agent William Hill to act as "referees" in the matter (2). Rush Nutt wrote in 1805 that "the price of that ferry is unreasonable" (3). George, writing to Robertson and Meigs on June 30, 1806, defended his rates:

I am sensible that the price of my ferriage is high when compared with that of Ferriage in the

Settled Country. But in my situation several things ought to have some weight with you in determining on the propriety of my charges. In the first place I made this establishment in compliance with the wishes of the United States--(in the present extension of the Western Country, especially since the acquisition of Louisiana it is becoming of importance). In the second place notwithstanding the aid promised me by Genl. Wilkins. & Col. Hawkins in 1801 my beginning here has been very expensive to me. In the 3rd place the Ferry is very wide being 1364 yeards, as measured by Lt. James. In crossing which we are obliged first to ascend the River from a quarter to half a mile, in order to prevent our being carried by the Current below the place of landing. I am obliged to have my boats attended from three to five hands: the wages and subsistence of these hands is very expensive to me. I make a point of having the ferry well attended. Particular care is always taken to expedite the Mail Carrier of the United States, & to whom I only charge half price. Myself and my Brother who is interested with me in this establishment have on all occasions made it a point to forward the views of the United States. When the militia were on their way to Natchez, my brother Levi went considerable distance with them, furnished them with provisions with his own money, without making any profit to the establishment. We did this because we wished success to the measures of the United States. Our nation has for a long time been in close friendship with the United States & as an individual I am one of those faithful friends warmed by my personal service in Indian War. I hope that it is not improper to mention these things, for altho, you know them they are not known to many of the travellers who pass on this road--On the whole my expectations have not been realized by making this settlement, the travel is principally Boats to N. Orleans where the crews are discharged, who then return home by this road, many of Whom are sick, & destitute of money, in such cases I always give them provisions & carry them over the river ferriage free--no man going away from my house hungry...I know that in time, the establishment here will be a valuable one:but untill that time arrives we must live at great expense without realizing our first expectations...(4).

Apparently during June, 1806, George built for himself the fine house he felt necessary for his ferry establishment. Meigs noted on June 30, 1806, that "Colbert has lately built a small House of two stories only 20 feet by 16 feet. It is covered with rough Clapboards well Shingled & Sealed inside with pine Boards. This house he declares cost him 650 dollars (5). In 1807, this same house was described as "like a country palace with its abundance of glass in doors and windows" (6). Located six miles north of present Cherokee, Alabama, it was still standing in 1923:

The house is built of the best material and fastened together with wooden pins. The two front rooms are one above the other, are twenty-four feet by eighteen with a nine foot ceiling. The back room is the same size. The foundation is of stone and the front porch is held up by black walnut well dressed columns about seven or eight inches square with the corners nicely beveled. The stone chimney is the most attractive feature of the place since it is ten feet broad at the base and maintained a width of eight feet or more from the ground, where it tapers to about six. It was plastered with cement (7).

The house was completely destroyed by fire in 1929, one year after being marked by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

George Colbert had by 1805 secured for himself an image of avariciousness, greed, impudence, and crass independence. Government officials who attempted to gain his allegiance at the treaty table were the most critical, disturbed and preturbed by his steadfast insistence that treaties help his people and himself. James Robertson wrote that "George is possessed of a very great address and in business has a perfect command of his passions... George's ascendancy in the nation is such that it would be unavailing at the present moment to shake his popularity" (8). Cherokee agent Return Meigs stated that "George Colbert, tho' not highest in rank in the Chickasaw Nation, yet from his ambition and interest, very much influences the affairs of that nation. He is extremely mercenary, miscalculates his importance, and when not awed by the presence of the officers of Government takes upon himself great airs" (9). William Blount, who as Governor of the Southwest Territory had asked Robertson to appoint two Chickasaws to accompany a Choctaw delegation to Philadelphia in 1795, added that "Geo. Colbert must not be one--He is very imprudent" (10). Rush Nutt added in 1805 that "George is the greatest man among them, as his work bears more concern on their mind. His physiogamy displays genius and talents-but for the want of a duly proper cultivated mind he falls short of what he appears to be" (11).

In 1807, Methodist minister Jacob Young stopped at Colbert Ferry and later recollected his meeting with George Colbert:

Mr. Young...concluded to give Col. George Colbert --as he was titled--the proprietor of the ferry, an evening call. He was a halfblood, his father a Scotchman and his mother a Chickasaw. He had two wives who were sisters and daughters of the somewhat famous Cherokee chief, Doublehead. Colbert was a man of considerable talents, and withal very shrewd and wicked. He and a brother of his had a large farm on the river, upon which they were working about forty negroes. Mr. Young bought some corn, fodder, and pumpkins for their horses, for which he had to pay an extravagant price. They sat down to a social chat with the Colonel, and were quite amused at his shrewdness and native wit. 'Where are you going?' inquired this haughty man of the Wilderness. 'To Natchez', replied Mr. Young. 'What are you going there for?' rejoined this consequential mixture of Scotch and Indian. 'To preach', replied Mr. Young. Colbert burst into a merry laugh and said 'Ah, Natchez people great for preach, but they be poor, lazy, theiving, bad people'. The preachers tried to defend their profession to no good purpose. Colbert then asked, 'Where are you from?'. Mr. Young answered, 'From Kentucky'. To which he responded, 'Kentuckians are bad people, and white men are worse than Indians everywhere, though they have much preaching, and much learning. The Indians never knew how to steal, get drunk or swear until the white man learned them. We want no preaching in our country. We are free, and intend to keep so'. The preachers then bade this rich, money-loving, and money-making son of the Wilderness good-night, and sought repose in their tent (12).

There seems to be little doubt that George Colbert was the most controversial of his clan.

The life of Doublehead, George's famous father-in-law, is of interest. He, too, was a controversial man. Also known as Chuguilatague, he was the son of Old Tassell, a Cherokee chief killed by Americans through treachery in June, 1788. His father's assassination brought Doublehead into the camp of Dragging Canoe, most militant of the Chickamaugua Cherokees and leader of the Cherokee war on the frontier since 1776. In 1792 he became one of the Chickamaugua leaders following the death of Dragging Canoe, and the following year he led a thousand warriors in an invasion of Knoxville (13). In 1794 he visited Philadelphia and met President Washington, only to return to the Cherokee Nation and resume hostilities (14). In September of that year he attacked the home of settler Valentine Sevier, brother of Tennessee's first governor, John Sevier, and killed three members of the family (15). After the end of the Cherokee wars in November, 1794, Doublehead was in effect second chief of the tribe behind Little Turkey.

He succeeded to tribal leadership upon Little Turkey's death in 1802. His downfall began on October 25, 1805, when he and other Cherokees signed the Treaty of Tellico Blockhouse with the Americans. He received two secret reservations by the treaty, one at the mouth of the Clinch River, the other at the mouth of the Hiawassie. On January 7, 1806, he and other Cherokees, then in Washington, signed another treaty, this one ceding the territory sold a few months earlier by the Chickasaws. It was learned that he had made secret profits by that treaty, and on August 9, 1807, the chief was killed by members of the Cherokee tribal council that included a fullblood named Major Ridge (who himself was killed in 1839 by other Cherokees).

Very little of note was recorded about the Chickasaws between 1807 and 1813. One of George Colbert's wives died and in keeping with Chickasaw custom was buried under his new house at the ferry. Levi opened his home on Buzzard Roost Creek to Trace travelers. James Colbert and James Allen moved their residences from the Caney Creek area to sites further south, within one to three miles north of the Chickasaw agency house, which was located at present Houlika in Chickasaw County, Mississippi. In July, 1811, trader George Strother Gaines traveled through the Chickasaw county and left this itinerary:

- July 26 paid McGee for dinner at agency
- 27 slept at Allens last night, noon breakfast with James Colbert
- 29 breakfast Levi Colbert
- 30 arrived Colbert Ferry (17)

Apparently the Colberts as well as other Chickasaws and Choctaws were primarily devoting their time to personal affairs and to the operation of inns along the Natchez Trace. The MISSISSIPPI-LOUISIANA ALMANAC published lists of these inns annually between 1812 and 1821. One list, giving the distances between the various inns, was evidently compiled about 1814:

Stands from Natchez to Nashville

Grindstone Ford	8
McRavens, Indian line	18
Brashears	40
Nortons	12
Chotas	30
Leffloes	34
Fulsoms, Pigeon Roost	30
Choctaw Line	43
Indian agents	10
James Colberts	10
Old Factors	26
James Browns	17
Bear Creek	33

Levi Colberts, Buzzard Roost	5
Geo. Colbert, Tenn. River	7
Toscumbys	16
Factors Sons	16
Indian line	20 (18)

Another list of inns, or stands, probably made a few years later, shows:

Stands from Natchez to Nashville

Washington	6
Selzertown	6
Uniontown	6
Greenville	6
Vaughns	5
Gibson's Port	17
Mrs. Wooldridge	9
Choctaw Line	16
Fourteen Mile Creek	14
Indian House	18
Osbornes	6
Agency	3
Brashears	4
Wards	8
McCurty's	4
Doak's	16
Irishman's	26
Shoates	5
Michael Lefleur's	11
Louis Lefleur's	14
Mitchell's	12
Black's	8
Folsom's	5
Beam's	5
Wall's	7
James Perry's	15
Mr. Pettigrove's	3
McKey's, or agency	8
Allen's	8
James Colbert	1
Levi Kemp	7
Bigtown	15
Old Facotr's	5
John Brown's	23
The Clean House	8
The Good Spring	8
Bear Creek	12
Carter's	5
Colbert's Ferry	8
Duck River	75
Nashville	50 (19)

The above list was apparently made in the 1820s.

The temporary abstention of the Colberts and the Chickasaw tribe in general from American affairs came to an end in 1813. England and the United States went to war in 1812 and General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee was called upon to lead troops to Natchez in order to protect the city from possible attack. Jackson and the Tennessee militia called upon ferryman George Colbert for transportation across the Tennessee River:

June 23, 1813—to George Colbert, for ferriage for 600
men, 2 beeves, 2 bus. salt \$193.00
25----- to Levi Colbert, for bacon \$12.87
25----- to Levi Colbert, for bacon \$12.87
30----- to George Colbert, for ferriage \$175.00 (20)

Even as General Jackson was occupying himself with the protection of Natchez, a new threat to the Americans broke out in the Creek country. Colonel Benjamin Hawkins had managed to instill in the Creeks many of the contemporary white customs since his appointment as Creek agent in 1796, but in so doing alienated a faction who favored the ancient ways. The renegade faction, titling themselves "Redsticks" or the War Party, was led by Alexander McGillivray's nephew, William Weatherford ("Red Eagle"), by Peter McQueen, by Menewa, and by Josiah Francis, a prophet. The group, already irate for continued encroachments on the Creek territory by a swelling white populace, was excited to an almost uncontrollable level of nationalism by the visit of the great anti-American Shawnee chieftain, Tecumseh, in 1811. In April, 1813, hostilities broke out between the Redsticks and the Creek peace faction. Three months later, the Redsticks were attacked but managed to defeat a considerable force of whites and allied Creeks at Burnt Corn Creek in the Alabama section of the Mississippi Territory. The Americans prepared themselves for further combat, but not for an attack the Redsticks made on Fort Mims, twenty miles north of Mobile, on August 30, 1813. The Redsticks butchered 517 men, women, and children that day.

Preparations for "retaliatory vengeance" against the Redsticks were made in Georgia, Tennessee, and the Mississippi Territory in the late summer of 1813. On November 3, Jackson launched his first assault on the Creek towns. He had assistance from a detachment of twenty-one Chickasaw cavalry led by Captain Pitman Colbert, adopted son of George Colbert. Pitman's troops were attached to a unit commanded by General John Coffee of Tennessee, and served from October 13, 1813, to May 31, 1814 (21). This contingent also included another Colbert, William Jr., son of either Joseph or Samuel. Throughout the winter of 1813-1814, Jackson's troops waged a war of attrition against the Redsticks that almost destroyed them. A remnant of the Redstick army did manage to fight their way back to the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River in January. When General Jackson came out of winter camp and opened a new offensive designed to crush the Creek Nation and "to remove the danger of warfare by them for all time to come", he was again sup-

ported by the Colberts. In March, 1814, William Colbert was commissioned a major in the Army of the United States, and formed a company of 250 Indians (22). Among these were Captain George Colbert, Captain James Colbert, Lieutenant William McGillivray, and privates James Brown, Samuel Sealy, Thomas Sealy, William Glover, William Colbert Jr., Thomas Thompson, Tishomingo, and Benjamin Duke (23). The Chickasaws first set out for Fort Claiborne on the Alabama River with the intention of destroying Creek towns in that sector, but were soon deactivated as a result of Jackson's overwhelming victory over the Redsticks at Horseshoe Bend on March 27. The Chickasaw unit reenlisted at Octibia Creek at the Choctaw boundary on November 1, 1814, followed Jackson to the Battle of New Orleans where they served under General Coffee and Pushmataha of the Choctaws, and disbanded at Mobile on February 24, 1815 (24).

The participation of the Chickasaws and the Colberts in the War of 1812 and the simultaneous Creek War did not prevent them from carrying on tribal business. George and Levi, before setting out in March, 1814, to help the Americans, collected the sum of \$23.86 for ferriage and support of Jackson's troops in February (25). In the summer of 1814, George and James visited the national capital at Washington and on the return journey in September witnessed the hanging at Nashville of a white man found guilty of murdering a Chickasaw (26). Martha Phillips Martin, a visitor to the Chickasaw country, met James Colbert shortly after his return home:

The next morning we got our breakfast at James Colbert's, the Indian Chief. He and his Wife had a few days before returned from Washington. He said his visit there with many others was to have a talk with their Father, the President, in regard to sending his subjects to fight the British. Mrs. Colbert was delighted with her trip. Said the President gave them a dinner & all the fashionable Gentlemen and Ladies were there. She was dressed quite fashionably except barefooted. We got a most excellent Breakfast. Mrs. Colbert invited us to stay some days and rest (27).

Meanwhile, George Colbert had returned to his ferry. On May 19, 1815, he presented General Jackson a bill of \$199.12 for the ferriage of 1,593 militia returning from New Orleans (28).

Levi Colbert apparently did not take part in the hostilities. A notorious white man from the Choctaw country, Wigton King, approached Levi on February 7, 1815, with information that "I am sent on by Gen. Jackson, & Genl. Winchester, to get some more of the Chickasaws to go on to Join Colonel George Colbert. Genl. Jackson requests you to assist me & to use your Influence to get as many young men as Possible to turn out, as there is a good many negroes, Red sticks & horses, to get" (29). Chickasaw agent William Cocke

managed to warn Levi that King, a disreputable personage during the years he lived among the Choctaws, had no such authority. Levi spoke of the matter at a tribal council on March 2, 1815: "Yester ay we expected to March under your Orders against our enemy", he told Cocke. "Today you tell us it is peace...My family have been very sick, & some of us was obliged to stay at home to take care of the nation but when you let us know that you wanted us, you see we are doing the best we can, & that we are willing to venture our lives with our friends" (30).

Until this time, the Colbert family may be regarded as the epitome of the noble American Indian, educated, intelligent, and ever the friend of the white people. They were certainly by far the most notable of all Indian families recorded in American history, with few blots to tarnish an almost impeccable record of achievement. Yet during this time James Colbert's sons were involved in a questionable plot to gain a monopoly of the Chickasaw trade. The plot was fomented by Wigton King, the extraordinary fraud who had once served time in New Orleans for forgery. King had made his way to the Choctaw country in 1811, where three years later, through fraud, he had Choctaw agent Silas Dinsmore removed from office (King, hoping to secure the agency post, forged two letters, allegedly from leading Choctaw chiefs, to the Secretary of War asking for Dinsmore's dismissal). The post instead went to John McKee, King's plot was discovered, and he fled the nation. In the Chickasaw country he made an apparently honest but unsuccessful application for the post of Chickasaw agent, vacated on September 1, 1814, by the death of James Robertson (reappointed in 1812). In 1815, he had been denounced by agent William Cocke and General Jackson for his attempt to form a company of Chickasaw troops without authorization. In January, 1816, by now a trading partner of Major James Colbert, he visited Baltimore under the guise of "Major King, Indian Agent", and defrauded one Colonel John M. Barrett of a large sum of money. Barrett later discovered that King was "not a Major or yet Indian agent" and "he was in low circumstances and thought to be a great Scoundrell and in fact...would cheat me if he could get it in his power" (31). By the spring of 1816, King had turned to an even more devious scheme.

King apparently induced William Colbert, Tishomingo, and James Colbert to insist that Cocke drive all other traders from the Chickasaw Nation. The demand upon the agent came during a tribal council held at the home of George Colbert on April 2-3, 1816. Cocke had no choice but to reject the outrageous proposal since only Congress had the power to regulate Indian trade. Tishomingo, whom Cocke had rebuked earlier for the actions of his warriors in stealing goods and pelts from the Government trading house at the Chickasaw Bluffs, then threatened to steal all the traders' goods. This was ominous talk from a District Chief of the tribe (Cocke had appointed Tishomingo, William McGillivray, and Samuel Sealy to the posts in 1815 in order to facilitate more orderly annuity payments). Cocke again rebuked the old chief. Such talk "looked more like a silly baby than a head man of the Chickasaws", he said (32). In retaliation, Tishomingo, William

Colbert, and James Colbert threatened to visit Washington and have Cocke dismissed.

Oddly enough, at this point Wigton King's influence with the three chiefs dissipated. Exactly why is unknown. Quite possibly the Chickasaws saw through King's smooth talk and saw a schemer of the first order. Possibly they heard of his actions in the Choctaw country. Even more plausible is the theory that the three saw their association with King as detrimental to their positions of leadership in the tribe. Indeed, several Chickasaws publicly denounced Major James Colbert for forming a partnership with the man, while others demanded that the chief not join the delegation bound for Washington (33). Tishomingo asked Cocke to banish King just prior to the delegation's departure on April 22, which Cocke accomplished. King then threw the entire tribe into turmoil by announcing that he would accompany the delegation to the capital. The chiefs promptly declared King's plans to be "faulse and ill founded and that no such infamous man as Wigdon King should be suffered to keep their company" (34). The delegation then left.

The wily King hurried to Washington ahead of his former allies. In an effort to cause even more turmoil, he placed an article in THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER stating that he had personally directed the Chickasaws to the capital. Back in the Chickasaw country, a council convened at George Colbert's in mid-July to answer Chinnubby's questions about the article. George explained that "his brother Genl William Colbert and Majr James Colbert knew the opinion the nation had of Wigdon King and that they and the whole delegation had on their way to the city promised him that they would not suffer Wigdon King to keep their company or have anything to do with him" (35). Oddly enough, this same King was appointed United States Postmaster in the Chickasaw Nation in June, 1816; described by one Chickasaw settler as "a most infamous lyar, drunkard, riotous & disorderly person", he served until March, 1817 (36). He subsequently removed to Arkansas, where in 1828 he attempted to collect money from the government for educating several Quawpaw youths he had actually never seen (37).

The Chickasaw delegation, in Washington, went on to accuse Cocke of having "lost the confidence" of the Chickasaw people, but got no results. While in Baltimore in June, James Colbert had the sum of \$1,089 stolen from him at a theater. He later claimed that Wigton King had been a party to the theft (38).

Even while the Chickasaw delegation was in the east usurping William Cocke's position and Wigton King was creating dissatisfaction in the Chickasaw country, a new, even more serious matter was about to affect the tribe. Citizens of Tennessee drafted a letter to President James Madison on April 19, 1816, in which they asked that the government gain title to the eight million acres of Chickasaw land in central and west Tennessee. Madison took little time to consider the request before ordering Secretary of War William H. Crawford to appoint special commissioners to negotiate with the

Chickasaws for the land. On June 4, Crawford sent commissions and instructions to General Andrew Jackson, General David Meriwether of Athens, Georgia, and Jesse Franklin of North Carolina. They were instructed to obtain all Chickasaw land in the Alabama sector of the Mississippi Territory, the land in Tennessee, and all tribal lands in Kentucky. In exchange for the cession, the Chickasaws were to receive another annuity and be supplied with liberal presents. Jackson, Meriwether, and Franklin were first to settle the longstanding boundary dispute between the Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, and were to investigate the charges against Colonel Cocke (39).

The newly appointed negotiators sent word to the Chickasaw chiefs in the early summer of 1816 that they wished to discuss the purchase of land. Plans were then made for Major James Colbert (now acting as United States interpreter at a salary of four hundred dollars a year) to provide supplies for both sets of negotiators. Jackson supplemented Colbert's supplies by ordering on August 13 some \$500 worth of goods for shipment to the Chickasaw Council House on Pontotoc Creek. This order consisted of beef, corn, flour, two boxes of claret, a barrel of good whiskey, 100 pounds of coffee, 200 pounds of sugar, four dozen knives and forks, a dozen spoons, 60 pounds of rice, three loaves of white sugar, a barrel of biscuit, four tin dishes, two dozen tin plates, two ovens, a frying pan, two dozen tumblers, a coffee pot, two tin buckets, and a keg of molasses (40).

The primary obstacle to successful negotiations was the very bitter boundary dispute between the various tribes over the Bear Creek-Muscle Shoals area. Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw delegates were invited to the conference that opened at the Chickasaw Council House on September 6. A Cherokee delegation that included Spring Frog, Sequoyah (George Gist), Path Killer, Sour Mush, Glass, Dick Justice, and Richard Brown, attended. Creek delegates did not. Choctaw delegates were present, and during the next three days Jackson and his associates held serious discussions with the three tribes. The Chickasaw land claim was based on Piomingo's declaration of the tribe's boundaries at the Nashville Indian Conference in 1792, which drew the eastern line as a line running from the eastern waters of Elk River in Tennessee south to the Chickasaw Old Fields near present Huntsville, Alabama. This placed the Chickasaw boundary line some forty-five miles east of Bear Creek. The Chickasaw claim had added credence by a certificate given to the tribe by President Washington on July 21, 1794, reaffirming the boundaries set forth by Piomingo. The Cherokees had attended the Nashville Indian Conference and had thereafter acknowledged the Chickasaw claim as just. The Creek claim, however, seemed more credible to Jackson, primarily because he did not wish to purchase from the Chickasaws or Cherokees land that the Creeks had ceded after Horseshoe Bend in 1814. On September 14, however, Jackson secured from the Cherokees a treaty, subject to later ratification by the tribe, by which they relinquished their claim to all lands south of the Tennessee River. Jackson then turned to the matter of securing the Chickasaw title. By now, he knew that the tribe would cede only lands in central Tennessee and Alabama; other

requests would have to wait. Still, no promises had been made to cede anything.

"As we anticipated", wrote Jackson later, "much difficulty was encountered in negotiating with the Chickasaws; the conference being held with the whole nation, every individual had to be consulted; and the chiefs, together with the agent, seemed more anxious to maintain their popularity, than to promote the views of government, or the best interests of the nation they ruled" (42). Jackson was dealing with George, William, James, and Levi Colbert; with Chinnubby, Tishomingo, Samuel Sealy, and William McGillivray; with James Brown, William Glover, and others. The chiefs were stubborn in their refusal to cede claim to the Bear Creek-Colbert Ferry area. Finally Jackson used bribery to get the negotiations moving. "We have drawn upon the Department of War for the amount of those presents distributed to the principal chiefs", he wrote, "and which could not appear in the treaty. Secrecy was enjoined as to the names. Secrecy is necessary, or the influence of the chiefs would be destroyed, which has been, and may be useful on a future occasion" (43).

Part of Jackson's bribes were directed successfully at the Colberts. Article four of the subsequent treaty reserved to George and Levi Colbert a tract of land that lay north of the Tennessee River and east of Colbert Ferry. The tract encompassed twelve square miles. What was not included in the treaty was a secret deal whereby George and Levi agreed to sell the tract to a partner of Jackson's for \$20,000.

Jackson's use of bribery obtained for him the acquiescence of the Chickasaws to a cession of lands on September 20, 1816. The tribe relinquished their claim to all lands north of the Tennessee River, and lands south of the river commencing at the mouth of Caney Creek (twelve miles east of Colbert Ferry) thence down Caney Creek to its source and southwest to Gaines' Trace, thence southwest to the Cotton Gin Port on the Tombigbee River, thence down the east bank of the Tombigbee to the Choctaw line. The cession of those 408,000 acres obtained for the tribe a ten year annuity of \$12,000 and the sum of \$4500 payable to Levi Colbert for payment to those Chickasaws who lived and had made improvements on the ceded territory. George Colbert's son-in-law, John McLish (son of former interpreter William McLish), received a one mile square tract that included his home on the north side of the Buffalo River in Tennessee (44).

The dissatisfaction of the Colberts with Chickasaw agent William Cocke was not result in his dismissal as a result of the treaty negotiations. Jackson's report to the Secretary of War totally absolved Cocke of all the vague charges perpetrated by the Colberts during their unwise moment of avariciousness. The Colberts had leveled all kinds of charges at the man--had accused him of operating a tavern at the agency house, of allowing the Chickasaw blacksmith to use the tribe's iron for personal projects, or harboring an unjust vendetta against Tishomingo, of allowing his brother-in-law, James Sims, to settle over 2500 whites on tribal

lands along the Elk River without authority, and of having lost the confidence of the nation (45). Cocke had also, they said, accused their friends, Thomas F. Cheadle and Godfrey Jones, the tribe's public workmen, of alcoholism and shoddy workmanship in the manufacture of wheels and looms (46). The failure to get Cocke dismissed was a setback to the aims of the chiefs, and in exasperation they on February 10, 1817, declared that they would have no further dealings with him (47). Even that did no good, as William Cocke continued as agent for another year (48).

Less than one year after ratification of the Council House treaty white men again came seeking Chickasaw land. The Tennessee assembly, irked by the failure to get the entire Chickasaw claim in that state by the recent treaty, sent a memorial to Congress on March 16, 1818, asking that the lands be purchased. Without delay Secretary of War John C. Calhoun was at work selecting commissioners for the task. On April 3 he chose General Andrew Jackson and former Kentucky governor Isaac Shelby for the job. They were to get title to all Chickasaw lands in Tennessee and Kentucky, and were to offer lands west of the Mississippi River in exchange (49).

The Chickasaws apparently did not look with favor on the prospect of another land cession. The NASHVILLE CLARION noted in the summer of 1818 that 200 Indians had met at Levi Colbert's home and resolved to shoot the first man who voted for a cession (50). Major James Colbert notified Jackson on July 17 that "at a council held at my house on the 13th instant, the subject of selling or exchanging lands was discussed, and it was determined by the chiefs then present that the Chickasaw nation had no lands to sell or exchange whatever...(51). Major Colbert did meet Jackson at the mouth of Cypress Creek on August 5 and they set October 1 as the day for talks to begin (52).

The new negotiations began on September 29, 1818, with the arrival at Oldtown of General Jackson, Governor Shelby, and their entourage. Finding the new agent, Col. Henry Sherburne (successor to William Cocke), absent, they journeyed three miles west to George Colbert's new home on Coonewah Creek. The night was spent at Colbert's. Sherburne arrived on October 2. The next day, all of the Colberts and other important chiefs arrived at the treaty ground near Oldtown. During the next few days, the commissioners held private talks with the Chickasaws, informally explaining their mission. An express from Nashville arrived on October 6 with copies of land grants made by the state of North Carolina to individuals involving the land to which Jackson and Shelby were seeking claim. Levi Colbert, who had initially requested the copies, read them and seemed "to be much satisfied". The commissioners delayed formal talks until the arrival of Benjamin F. Smith with delayed annuity payments.

The commissioners and agent Sherburne on October 8 began the compilation of a census of the Chickasaws, arranged along clan lines. This census (53) has become one of the most important documents in tribal archives, for it lists the name of every then living tribesman. It gives us a close insight into the Colbert

clan, clearing up the oft-muddled family genealogy.

On page 22 of the original census appears the name of "Mrs. McIntosh". She was the last surviving widow of trader James Colbert. In 1797 she had remarried, taking for her second husband John McIntosh Jr., son of the former British agent to the Chickasaws (54). She had been widowed again in August, 1803, when McIntosh died while on a visit to the Hot Springs west of the Mississippi (55). An unsuccessful attempt had been made shortly after John's death by a Creek halfbreed, William McIntosh, to claim the Tockshish plantation as his nearest relative (56). Governor William Claiborne and agent Samuel Mitchell had instead awarded the plantation to the widow, and pacified William with a horse (57). Now, in 1818, William was working his way up to the position of Chief of the Lower Creeks while Mrs. McIntosh was living the quiet life at Tockshish.

Also on page 22 is Major James Colbert, Mrs. McIntosh's son by James Logan Colbert. James lived at Tockshish now, but still held properties near the agency house on Holkey Creek. Major Colbert's wife of two decades, Susan, is listed, along with their children Tennessee, Molcy, Susan, Betsy, Thomas, Sukey, Joseph, James, and Samuel. Apparently James had adopted the children of one of his deceased brothers (Joseph or Samuel), for also listed in his clan are Nancy, Winchester, Susy Perry, William James, and Robert Colbert.

James Colbert's sister, Susan, had died evidently about 1800, leaving one daughter, Peggy, along with her husband, James Allen, a white man. Peggy was supposedly a great Chickasaw beauty who, according to popular tale, was wooed unsuccessfully by Samuel Mitchell during his tenure as Chickasaw agent (1797-1806) (58). Mitchell's wife, Molly Folsom, had died in 1802 and the agent is said to have applied to Peggy's grandmother, Mrs. McIntosh, for the young girl's hand. Peggy refused, saying she would never marry a drinking white man, and instead married Simon Burney, a white man who had fought alongside James Logan Colbert during the Revolution (59). The 1818 Chickasaw census shows, on page 28, Simon Burney, Peggy Allen Burney, and their children, Levi and Charlotte.

Colonel George Colbert's family in 1818 included himself, his remaining wife, Salechie, and children named John, Vicy, Susan, George, Vina, Jane (Jenny), Andrew, and Pitman. Pitman, born in 1797, had been educated at Ellicott's Lower Mill in Maryland from 1803 to 1807, and was also known as Sam B. Colbert (60). He was an adopted son of George, probably a real son of Samuel Colbert. George's daughter, Susan, was in a short while to marry John McLish, a halfbreed raised and educated in Tennessee; John was now married to a white woman (61). Jane Colbert was wed to a Chickasaw mixed blood named Charles Frazier, and in 1818 was to give birth to a son, Andrew Jackson Frazier (62).

On page 29 of the census appears the name of James Allen, and one of the true mysteries of Colbert genealogy appears. Whether this is the same James Allen who married Susan Colbert is unknown.

Tribal records show that Allen married Betsy Love, daughter of trader Thomas Love, in late 1797 or 1798, five or six years after he arrived in the Chickasaw country (63). Allen's family in 1818 included Betsy and his children Lucy (Louisiana), Susan, Elizabeth, George G., Sally, Alexander, and Mississippi. On the same page appears Thomas Love, who had settled among the Chickasaws in 1782, and Love's children Henry, Isaac, Benjamin, Slone, Nancy, Thomas, Amanda, Sally, and Elvira. On page 30 is Love's other daughter, Delilah, married to white man John B. Moore.

Page 33 of the census shows the name of William McGillivray (1754-1844), one of the most influential of the Chickasaw chiefs. His daughter, Sarah, was the wife of Pitman Colbert in later years (64).

The census shows that Levi Colbert had apparently adopted the children of one of his brothers. It shows Levi's two wives, Temusharhochtay and Mintahoyo, and their children: Martin, Alexander, Dolly, Adam, Commodore, Abijah (all by Temusharhochtay), Charles, Charity, Lemuel, Phyllis, Asa, and Monroe (all by Mintahoyo). Also shown are Ish-tim-mar-har-le-char Colbert and her children Letty, Kersey, Lesila, and Dorthy, along with Shemartay Colbert and her children Robinson, Davis, Lucy, Braman, Edmund, Amelia, Elisa, Molly, Peniachar, Joseph Perry, Dase, and Reuben. Shemartay's children evidently later took the surname "James" and "Jimmy" (65).

General William Colbert exhibited more of the attributes of an Indian than did his brothers, and such a fact is evidenced by the census. His family included Ishtonharhay, Tooklaishtubby, Jamison, Ballarhubby, Nuzeka, Meharchubby, Immerholochetubby, Logan, Shemarhoyechar, Wileky, Schtimmarhoye, Onnarhoketay, Apalartubby, and Nacknitubby Colbert. He also had two other daughters, Margaret, married to a settler named John L. Allen, and Molly, widow of Christopher Oxberry and now the wife of settler James Gunn. John L. Allen, no relation to James Allen, had settled among the Chickasaws in 1796; his father, David Allen, was a Revolutionary War veteran (66). John had later departed to serve as commanding officer of Fort Hampton near present Athens, Alabama, and as postmaster at Paris, Tennessee; he would later serve as deputy United States agent to the Chickasaws. Gunn, now an old man, was a wealthy planter near the Chickasaw settlements. He and Molly Colbert Oxberry had a daughter named Rhoda Gunn born to them in 1818.

Although the new Chickasaw census did not reflect it, the locations of two of the Colbert sons had changed within the previous year. George and Levi had abandoned their homes near the Tennessee River in favor of others nearer to the main Chickasaw settlements. The change was obviously occasioned by the steadily declining role of the Natchez Trace as a route to the southern sector of Mississippi (formed into a state in 1817) and the coincidental decline of the ferry on the Tennessee. George selected a new site on Coonewah Creek in present Lee County, Mississippi,

less than three miles west of Oldtown, which had been abandoned in 1797. Levi's decision to move was apparently a spur of the moment one, for in 1817 he had commissioned a white man, Kilpatrick Carter, to build him a new home on Buzzard Roost Creek. Carter had also won the hand of one of Levi's daughters, and the chief then presented the new home to the young couple. He had then moved to a site two and a half miles below Cotton Gin Port, Mississippi, on the east side of the Tombigbee River. Cotton Gin Port was only a year old but was a thriving community. Levi subsequently moved to a location several miles west of Cotton Gin Port following the destruction of his home by fire (67).

While Chickasaw agent Sherburne was winding up his census reports on October 9, 1818, and the tribe awaited the arrival of the annuity payments, Martin Colbert and other chiefs called upon the commissioners to state their mission and review all previous treaties affecting the tribe. A satisfactory answer being given, the negotiations were adjourned until October 12.

The arrival of seventeen packages of goods and the annuity payment of \$37,550 on October 12 signalled the opening of formal negotiations. The comclave began at 11 a.m. with Malcolm McGee handling the interpreting chores. The commissioners' talk was to the point: the Chickasaws did not, they said, have a legitimate claim to the Tennessee and Kentucky lands and must exchange them for lands in the west. "Listen once more", warned Andrew Jackson, "for we must speak plain and tell you the truth; if you refuse the friendly offer of your father the President the land will be taken possession of by your white Brethren who have patents for it". A shocked group of Indians went into council at George Colbert's home.

For the ensuing five days no word was heard from the tribal council. On October 15, Levi Colbert and Samuel Sealy emerged to have Jackson and Shelby exhibit their credentials. They then returned to the council (68).

What happened next does little to enhance the picture of the Colberts, at least on the surface. The use of bribes by government officials in their dealings with the American Indians was a common practice and one sanctioned by the government. Almost invariably they worked. On the night of October 17, Andrew Jackson offered the Colberts and other chiefs bribes in the amount of \$20,000. The chiefs accepted. George Colbert received \$8500, part of which was earmarked for payment to halfbreed George Pettygrove. Levi Colbert received the same amount. James Colbert got \$1667.67, five hundred of which was marked for payment to James Brown. A long standing bill due John Gordon by General William Colbert was paid by the commissioners. Samuel Sealy and William McGillivray each got \$666.67. Jackson's prediction of August 18, made in a letter to Shelby, was accurate: "We must", he had written, "endeavor...to put to rest the opposition of the Colberts by touching their interest, and feeding their avarice" (69).

The Colberts thus opened themselves to the charge of sacrificing tribal interests in favor of personal greed. Such charges

probably had little basis. All of the sons, particularly George, were entrepreneurs and were constantly in search of wealth and prestige. That much is true. Doubtlessly, they saw the inevitability of this cession and thus regarded their acceptance of money as only a natural by-product of the agreement. Perhaps in their logic their positions as men of influence in the tribe earned for them extra considerations at the treaty table. And perhaps the Colberts were in a sense saving their people from harm, for most of the Indians, if left to decide, would have opposed a cession and thus instituted a direct confrontation with the powerful U.S. Government. George and his brothers possibly even foresaw the day when the government would ask for all Chickasaw lands, and for their removal to the western country. By ceding the lands without opposition, perhaps, thought the Colberts, the Chickasaws could preserve themselves. The Chickasaws then, as well as the Colbert clan, must then look to the material advantages of these cessions.

Andrew Jackson and Isaac Shelby got their treaty, gaining title to all Chickasaw lands in Kentucky and Tennessee. On October 19, following some bickering between Levi Colbert and Jackson over the annuity to be given the Chickasaws for the land, the principal chiefs gathered to sign the document. The Colberts were joined by the three district chiefs--McGillivray, Sealy, and Tishomingo--and by Chinnubby, James Brown, George Pettygrove, William Glover, Malcolm McGee, and others. Martin Colbert and agent Sherburne were among the witnesses. The tribe was to receive a fifteen year annuity of \$20,000. The sum of \$1,115 was to be paid to John Gordon in consequence of the debt due him by William Colbert. Captain David Smith of Kentucky was granted \$2000 for having led forty-five Tennessee volunteers to the aid of the Chickasaws against the Creeks in 1795. Levi Colbert and James Brown were placed in charge of a salt lick on the Sandy River in Tennessee which was reserved for future sale by the tribe. James Colbert received \$1089 to replace the sum stolen from him at the theater in Baltimore two years earlier. The reserves granted to George Colbert, Levi Colbert, and John McLish by the 1816 treaty were confirmed with the expressed agreement that the land and persons dwelling on it would be subject to the laws of the United States (the Colberts sold their reserve to James Jackson in 1819. McLish continued to reside on his Buffalo River tract until at least 1822, and as a citizen of Tennessee even served on jury duty). Gifts of \$100-\$150 were presented to George, Levi, and James Colbert, along with others, "in consideration of the friendly and conciliatory disposition evidenced during the negotiations" (70).

The Chickasaws now legally held land in only two states, Mississippi (created in 1817) and Alabama (created in 1819). Yet a peculiar mistake retained for the tribe some 215,927 acres of Tennessee land. General James Winchester surveyed the southern boundary of Tennessee in June, 1819, with the help of James Colbert and Samuel Sealy (71). The boundary was supposed to be the 35th parallel of latitude, but in conducting the survey, Winchester's crew wandered north of the true line. They began drifting north

as they surveyed west of Bear Creek, and by the time they reached present Memphis they were 4.5 miles north of the 35th parallel. As a result, a narrow strip of southern Tennessee that included present portions of Memphis remained in Mississippi, and Chickasaw Indians continued to reside there. The line was finally resurveyed in 1837, and in 1890 the new Mississippi constitution accepted the new line as the true boundary.

The Chickasaws were soon surrounded on three sides by white settlements, for by 1820 thousands of settlers were streaming into west Tennessee, northern Alabama, and the Arkansas Territory. Tusculum, Alabama, located on the Tennessee River, was only eight miles east of Caney Creek, the eastern Chickasaw boundary as of 1816. Bustling Cotton Gin Port, located on the Tombigbee River in Monroe County, Mississippi (created in 1821), was within eight miles of Major Levi Colbert's home. Memphis, Tennessee, founded in 1819, quickly became a major river port. Helena, Arkansas, founded in 1820, provided a jumping-off place for persons interested in moving into the Chickasaw country from the west. To the south, the Choctaws still retained lands, though they had made major cessions to the whites in 1816 and 1820. The Choctaws, too, were surrounded, for to their south were the growing settlements of Mississippi. Two alien cultures stood side by side in a situation that could not long exist.

"Levi and James Colbert can injure any man that comes here"

--Benjamin F. Smith, 1827

"Colbert is to the Chickasaws what the soul is to the body"

--T.L. McKinney of Levi, 1827

Chapter Four: The Trying Time

Frequent contacts between the Chickasaws and the white people along with a general period of religious fervor known as the Great Awakening led to the formation in 1819 of a second missionary effort among the tribe. The effort was directed by the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, who ordered the Reverend Thomas C. Stuart (1794-1883) to visit the Southern Indians in order to establish schools and churches. Stuart and a companion visited the Chickasaw country in May and June of 1820, met the Colberts and others in council at George's house, and outlined their plans. Whereas Stuart had failed to win the support of the Creeks and Choctaws, he found the Chickasaws willing to have missionary establishments. In 1821, Stuart began his mission.

The Presbyterian missionary chose for the site of his first mission station, or school, a place on the east side of the old Natchez Trace about two miles south of Tockshish in present Pontotoc County, Mississippi. The school was named Monroe in honor of the President. In 1823, a school was opened for boarders, mostly mixed-blood Chickasaws, and by 1828 a hundred acres of land had been cleared and eighty-one pupils were in attendance (1).

The Monroe school could admit only a fraction of the Chickasaws who demanded admission, and in 1824 the tribe allocated \$5000 from tribal funds to construct new centers. As a result, a second school was built at Tockshish in 1824. The ancient plantation was now seldom used, for its owner, Mrs. McIntosh, had died at "a great age" in the summer of 1822 (2). Mrs. McIntosh's son, Major James Colbert, donated the place to Stuart's mission and by 1827 the farm consisted of thirty acres in cultivation. Reverend James Holland directed the twenty students in attendance (3).

A third mission station opened in 1826 in the western sector of the Chickasaw country. The school, named Martyn, was located at present Holly Springs in Marshall County, Mississippi. The Reverend W.C. Wilson operated the school with an average daily attendance of twenty-four, but he was soon replaced by Reverend James Holmes (4).

The last of Stuart's missions opened along Caney Creek in the Alabama sector in 1827. Called Caney Creek, the mission was located about two miles south-southeast of present Barton, on the west side of

the creek. The Reverend Hugh Wilson was in charge (5).

Of equal importance to the religious well-being of the Chickasaw people was the establishment by Stuart of a church at Monroe in 1823. During the next fourteen years, many members of the Colbert clan joined that church. These included Mrs. Tennessee Bynum (daughter of Major James Colbert and wife of white settler John A. Bynum, baptized December 4, 1824), her children Turner and Elizabeth (baptized December 19, 1824), Molcy Colbert, her sister (baptized May 7, 1826), William James Colbert (or William Colbert Jr., baptized September 28, 1827), Mrs. William Colbert (or Mimey, wife of General William Colbert, baptized January 6, 1828), James B. Allen (June 14, 1828), James Isaac Colbert (June 14, 1828), Benjamin and James Holmes Colbert (sons of James Isaac Colbert, baptized November 28, 1828), Joseph and Tennessee Colbert (children of William Colbert Jr., baptized October 4, 1829), Nuzeka Colbert (April 3, 1830), Nuzeka's two sons, Thomas Stuart and George Washington (June 5, 1830), his wife, Mary (June 5, 1830), Dicey Colbert (April 3, 1830), Kunnoyie Colbert, wife of William Colbert Jr. (October 1, 1830), Slone Colbert (son of Dicey, October 1, 1830), William Colbert (son of Nuzeka, September 11, 1831), Samuel Colbert ("infant son" of William Jr., baptized July 8, 1832), Eliza Jane Colbert (daughter of Nuzeka, June 9, 1833), and John L. Allen (April 5, 1834) (6).

A few members of the clan were meted punishment for various religious offenses. Nancy Colbert was among those suspended on January 5, 1833, but she was readmitted again, only to be suspended a second time on April 5, 1834. The offense is unknown. Molly Gunn and James B. Allen were also suspended on April 5, 1834. William Colbert Jr., who had worked his way up to a position as elder, was cited for intemperance on September 7, 1834, and publicly sought the congregation's forgiveness (7).

Simultaneous with the establishment of the Monroe Mission was the formation of the Charity Hall Mission Station at Cotton Gin Port, Mississippi. Its founder was Robert Bell of the Synod of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church of Tennessee. Charity Hall served as a school for both Chickasaw and Choctaw youths. A report in October, 1820, noted that the school had twenty-eight pupils, two-thirds of whom were boys. "The children have been orderly and attentive to their studies, and particularly so to moral and religious instruction", read the report, "and have volunteered to work a part of their time, and choose rather to take the time from their play" (8). A report issued in 1827 concerning both Monroe and Charity Hall noted that "these institutions are honorable to the Government which in part sustains them...highly so to those engaged in conducting them, beneficial instruction there, and are a credit to the nation" (9). Charity Hall in 1825 employed fourteen teachers, taught thirty-one students, and received an annual stipend of \$400 from the government (10).

One of the constants of the Chickasaw story of the 1820s and

1830s was a clash between the Colbert clan and the Chickasaw agents. Colonel Henry Sherburne, with whom the Colberts were on friendly terms, tendered his resignation in December, 1819, for personal reasons and returned to Rhode Island. His successor was Colonel Robert Carter Nicholas of Virginia and Kentucky, a veteran of the War of 1812. Nicholas resigned from the Army in mid-1819, and arrived in the Chickasaw country in 1820. In March, 1822, Levi Colbert accused him of incompetence (11). The charges were vague, but the government ordered Eden Brashears of Port Gibson, Mississippi, to investigate. Brashears report, June 18, 1822, vindicated the agent (12). Nicholas served until his resignation in the summer of 1823 and then returned to his home in Louisville, Kentucky, where he died in May, 1836.

When Robert C. Nicholas angrily left the Chickasaw Nation in January, 1823, the business of the agency fell upon assistant agent George B. "Randle" Malbone. Malbone retained the agency until the arrival of a new agent, Colonel Benjamin F. Smith of Kentucky, on October 18, 1823. Smith thereupon began a series of encounters with the Colberts that brought the tribe to the threshold of a civil war.

One of Smith's first acts was to, on March 5, 1824, report deputy agent Malbone for alleged intemperance and dereliction of duty (13). Included with the report was a letter allegedly written by Reverend Stuart to the same effect. Malbone countered in May with a letter to the Secretary of War in which he denied Smith's charges but admitted that "I sometimes visited a settlement about 8 miles from the agency, of them, often indulged myself too far". He declared that he had handled the agency duties alone from January to July, 1823, without having tasted a drop of liquor, and that he had conducted agency operations during a visit by Smith to Natchez between October 2, 1823, and January 11, 1824 (14).

Smith won his first effort to control Chickasaw affairs. On May 5, 1824, Superintendent of Indian Affairs Thomas L. McKenny notified Malbone that his services were no longer needed (15). The post was thereupon offered to a Henry Washington who refused it. Ensuing was a lengthy search for a replacement during which Gabriel W. Long, a resident among the Chickasaws, temporarily took the position. A "Mr. Caldwell" subsequently refused the job, and future Vice-President Richard Johnson of Kentucky suggested that Major Joseph R. Perry of Todd County, Kentucky, be appointed. Whether Terry, son of a Revolutionary War veteran named Colonel Nathan Perry, was ever offered the post is unknown. On November 25, 1825, Captain Michael Davidson of Stanford, Kentucky, accepted the job.

Apparently Ben Smith's relations with the Monroe Mission's leaders were less than satisfactory. In June, 1824, William H. Barr, a leading supporter of Stuart's efforts who resided at Abbeville, South Carolina, wrote a detailed letter to the Secretary of War in which he accused Smith of attempting to "exclude the Bible from the schools, and introduce Payne's Age of Reason, Voltaire, Hume, Gibbon, and other infidel writers" along with harbor-

ing "a visionary project of infidelity" by allowing the Chickasaws to continue their native dances (16). Calhoun, however, evidently did not view Barr's protests seriously, and it appears that Smith and Stuart were at least able to work together.

One matter which occupied the mind of the new agent was the condition of the agency house, built in 1801 by Samuel Mitchell. On December 20, 1824, Smith notified McKenny that "I would respectfully propose that the present house be abandoned. The sills are rotten and it is otherwise so decayed and fallen to pieces that it would require almost as much money to put it in a complete state of repair as to erect a new one" (17). McKenny agreed. Early in February, 1825, Smith made plans to select a new site for the new building. On April 6, he contracted with Robert Wilson of Natchez to erect a two story structure at a cost of \$1300 (18). In June of that year Smith announced that Reverend Stuart had discovered a site on Pigeon Roost Creek, a tributary of the Coldwater River near present Holly Springs, Mississippi (19). This site was soon discarded in favor of one on the south side of Malone Creek in present Colbert County, Alabama, two miles northeast of Cherokee. The new site was almost a hundred miles from the old agency and an equal distance from the primary Chickasaw settlements of the 1820s.

Smith's relocation of the agency was very likely intended for the benefit of the Indians. He wrote that the new site was selected because (1) it placed him in a better position to settle red-white differences, (2) cut the cost of importing iron and steel into the nation by its location near the Tennessee River, (3) would lead the Chickasaws to settle in the area, plant crops, and be nearer to available export markets at Tusculumbia and Huntsville (20). The Chickasaws, however, looked with extreme disfavor upon the removal of the agency to such a distant place. Part of it was caused by jealousy: Samuel Sealy resented the movement of the post from his district (21). He was followed by Tishomingo, always eager to feud with government officials (22). Despite these problems, the agency house was completed in November, 1825, at a cost of \$1808.08 (23).

The Colberts took a passive role in the feud with Smith, though the agent reported that Tishomingo was acting under their direction. George, William, James, and Levi all lived in comparative quiet at their homes in the mid-1820s. Levi's son, Daugherty, was sent in 1825 to Washington, where he was to obtain an education under the direction of Thomas L. McKenny. There he made substantial progress, for on January 10, 1826, McKenny notified the agent that "you can say to Colbert that Daugherty is improving very rapidly. His appearance and manners are beginning to do him credit, and he is considered a promising boy at school, and much liked and attended to by all the young men. He will lose his Chickasaw language in a few years. It is slipping away from him fast" (24).

Chickasaw tranquility was soon to be shattered forever. The United States was now following a stern policy of Indian Removal, hoping to induce or force the Southern Indians to exchange their lands in the east for new homes west of the Mississippi

River. Efforts to get these lands commenced in 1817, when the government persuaded a portion of the Cherokees to remove to the Arkansas country. In 1818 the threat had been held over the Chickasaws by Andrew Jackson. In 1820 the Choctaws surrendered much of their claim to south Mississippi in exchange for a large tract of land in western Arkansas. In 1824, the government organized the eastern portion of present Oklahoma into the Indian Territory with the intention of settling all the Indians there. The following year, the Choctaws gave up their Arkansas lands in exchange for a portion of present southeastern Oklahoma. In February, 1825, a portion of the Creeks were bribed into trading all tribal lands in the east for a home in the west. The treaty, however, was nullified by the tribe on January 24, 1826, following the execution the previous April 30 by the tribal council of General William McIntosh, the chief responsible for the cession. Removal was nonetheless an inevitable event, though uneducated Indians could not foresee such a calamity.

The attitude of the Chickasaws toward a removal to the west was completely negative. The first inkling of this had come in 1818, when Jackson and Shelby had been forced to halt any talk of such a move. On December 7, 1824, a delegation of chiefs under Levi Colbert, then in Washington, informed the President that the tribe had no more lands to spare (25). The tribe at the time owned over six million acres in Mississippi and 496,000 more in northwestern Alabama. The land was held by only 3,625 Indians in 1825, one aspect that was not overlooked by the whites (26). The Chickasaws were a progressive people, owned large herds of cattle, horses, and hogs, held slaves, and raised a considerable amount of beans, corn, squash, and cotton. Peach and apple orchards dotted their country. Near Tockshish were the homes of several of the twenty-four white men then living in the nation, some of whom were raising as much as 1200 pounds of cotton per acre. Many of the Chickasaw women were able to use looms and spinning wheels, and the men farmed with iron-tipped plows. Chickasaw homes were either of log or clapboard and some were valued in excess of two thousand dollars. Among the wealthiest of the Chickasaws was Levi Colbert, who around this time owned over 4000 head of cattle (27).

The preoccupation of the government with possession of the Indian lands led in 1826 to another series of negotiations with the Chickasaws. On May 24, Secretary of War Calhoun selected a distinguished trio of commissioners to treat with the Chickasaws for their removal to the Indian Territory (28). Foremost was General William Clark, co-captain of the famous Lewis and Clark expedition that had explored the Louisiana Purchase in 1804-1806. He was to be assisted by General Thomas Hinds and General John Coffee, both of whom had seen extensive action under Jackson during the War of 1812.

Hinds and Coffee, without the company of Clark, arrived in the Chickasaw country on October 15, 1826 (29). Clark had been delayed in St. Louis and the subsequent grounding of his steamboat on a sandbar in the Mississippi River. Coffee and Hinds spent the first night at the home of John McLish, six miles east of the old agency house. There

they talked with the old chief Samuel Sealy. Three days later they left McLish's, paid him \$45 for board, and went on to the home of halfbreed Levi Kemp, one and a half miles from the Chickasaw Council House. On October 23, the commissioners met the Chickasaws in council.

The Americans were destined to fail. Of all the important men in the nation, only King Ishtehotopah (serving his sixth year after succeeding the late Chinnubby in 1820), Levi Colbert, John McLish, Martin Colbert, and Malcolm McGee were on hand. The three district chiefs left on other business. George, William, and James Colbert boycotted the talks. From October 23 to November 2, Hinds and Coffee, and later Clark, pleaded unsuccessfully for Chickasaw removal. Time and time again, Levi Colbert, McLish, and Martin Colbert brought back negative responses from the tribal council. On November 2, the chagrined Americans prepared to depart. They expressed their feelings in a letter to the Secretary of War: "It is believed", they wrote, "that a few half-breeds, who enjoy this monopoly trade, and who have been educated and are more enlightened, have great influence with their people, and that it has been used to keep the nation together, for their own benefit and interest" (30). Whether or not the commissioners appreciated the power of the Colberts, they at least were aware of its extent.

Though the winter of 1826-1827 was a quiet one for the nation, there occurred in the spring of 1827 an event of great meaning for the Colbert clan. On or about May 5, General William Colbert died at his home near Tockshish (31). He was evidently buried there, under his home in tribal fashion, or in the cemetery at the Monroe Mission. The seventy-seven year old chief left his widow, Mimey, and several children and grandchildren. Mimey remained at the couple's homestead.

The summer of 1827 passed quietly, but in the fall there came another effort by the United States to accomplish Chickasaw removal. Superintendent of Indian Affairs Thomas L. McKenney, on a tour of the south, went by boat from St. Louis to Memphis and crossed into the Chickasaw country in early October. His arrival was heralded by James Colbert and Malcolm McGee. He paid visits to the missions at Monroe, Martyn, Tockshish, and Charity Hall, and on October 9 arrived at Levi Colbert's home near Cotton Gin Port. The two men were friends; only the past April, Levi's son Daugherty had left McKenney's home after two years' residence during which he attended school in Maryland (32). McKenney was treated hospitably by a group of chiefs, all alligned with Levi Colbert, that included James Colbert, George Colbert, Tishomingo, Ishtohotopah, William McGillivray, Pitman Colbert, Samuel Sealy, Emmubby, James Brown, George Pettygrove, Topulkah, Charles Colbert, Malcolm McGee, and Adam Colbert.

McKenney and the Colbert faction went into secret negotiations on the subject of Chickasaw removal. No journal of the proceedings was kept, and one wonders what took place, what events caused Levi to announce on October 10 that the tribe would remove if a suitable

home was found in the west. If bribes were used, it was not recorded; the only gifts given by McKenney amounted to only \$791.67. Levi promised to send a group of tribesmen west to explore for a new home for his people. The McKenney conference was thus the most important meeting so far with the Americans (33).

Benjamin F. Smith, the Chickasaw agent, chose this time to lash out at his foes, the Colberts. His dislike for them was not hidden:

I am well satisfied that nothing can be done with them, except by some sort of bribery or management and I wish it distinctly understood that I do not believe any man on earth can please or keep their favor with the nation if he acts honestly. For Levi and James Colbert can injure any man that comes here and unless he will act with them for their interests and defraud the nation, he must receive their cursis. I believe this from my own personal knowledge of them and should it ever be necessary for the vindification of my own conduct, I shall regret to be under the necessity of exposing them to the nation, in a way that will be calculated to create confusion among them (34).

In January, 1828, Smith, smarting over McKenney's intentional snub in not inviting him to the October conclave, created that confusion by exposing the McKenney agreement to the nation. Rage and confusion reigned following a tour by the agent and his interpreter, James McLaughlin, during which Smith threatened "if Major Colbert and others, who met Col. McKinney in council, did not mind, they would make another McIntosh business of it" (35). The position of the Colberts tottered in light of a possible civil war. Halfbreed George G. Allen, a son-in-law of Levi Colbert, demanded that Levi answer Smith's charges or he (Allen) would "have satisfaction" (36). Drunken Indians on one occasion attacked Ishtohotopah and accused him of treason (37).

The Colbert faction answered Smith's offensive by issuing countercharges to the Secretary of War and to McKenney, who by now was feuding with the agent (38). The Colberts accused Smith of not attending to their needs, of not prosecuting white offenders, of moving the agency to a distant point, of selecting a blacksmith not of their choosing, of publicly declaring his hatred for the Chickasaw people, of falsely circulating the rumor that the chiefs had sold the tribe's lands, of threatening the lives of the head men (39). McKenney repented by ordering John Bell of Cotton Gin Port to secure evidences of all charges.

Bell, son of the Charity Hall missionary, a friend of the Colberts, and interested in the agency post himself (40), conducted his investigation in June and July on 1828. He secured written affidavits from only the members of the Colbert faction, including Bernard McLaughlin (a white man who had settled among the Chickasaws in 1794), Kilpatrick Carter, John Glover, John McLish, Mingo Puscus (a relative of Tishomingo), George Colbert, James Colbert, Richard J. Humphreys (a white man married to a daughter of John McLish), and Levi Thomas (a white man from Pennsylvania, married to a Chickasaw). He used the services of Malcolm McGee and William McGillivray as interpreters. Additional evidence was garnered from John B. Duncan, the deputy Chickasaw agent, who was feuding with Smith. To nobody's surprise, Bell's report on July 3 found Smith guilty of all charges (41).

A second investigation of the agent was made by the War Department which evidently contradicted Bell's findings. On March 17, 1829, the Secretary of War notified Smith that all charges had been dropped (42). The announcement met with little satisfaction from Levi Colbert.

Levi's plans for an exploratory mission to the western country had languished during the tribe's preoccupation with the Smith fiasco. Further delay was caused by sickness in Levi's family in the fall of 1828 (43). The explorers, including Levi, James Colbert, George Colbert, Samuel Sealy, William McGillivray, and half-breed Isaac Albertson, departed the Chickasaw country about the first of October, 1828. They explored northwest into Missouri, ascending the Missouri River into Kansas late in the month. They then explored portions of Kansas and the Indian Territory, but failed to find satisfactory lands. They returned home in June, 1829 (44).

Levi Colbert and his group had been home only a short time when they experienced new difficulties with agent Smith. On June 27, 1829, Smith reported that the situation had so deteriorated that the nation was split into two factions, Levi's and another, backing Smith, headed by King Ishtohotopah (45). This time, however, the beleaguered agent abandoned his efforts to conquer the Colberts and went to Jackson, Mississippi. Agency duties fell to John L. Allen, the new sub-agent and son-in-law of the late William Colbert. "He had said that he will never return", wrote a jubilant Levi. "We sincerely hope that this will be the case" (46). Smith's resignation, tendered from Jackson on December 16, became effective January 25, 1830. The Colberts had defeated one of the few obstacles to their empire.

Chickasaw history in the 1800-1830 era seems to reflect a pattern of treaties and agency troubles. Such was the case late in 1829 when the Chickasaws at last lost Benjamin F. Smith and were faced again with land hungry whites. The State of Mississippi, whose population had mushroomed from 75,000 people in 1820 to over 136,000 people in 1830, tried to put pressure on the Indians by passing a law which extended the jurisdiction of all Monroe County courts into the Chickasaw country (47). On January 19, 1830, the state went a step further by extending all state laws to the Indian

country, conveying citizenship upon the Indians, abolishing tribal governments, and making it a misdemeanor to claim the office of chief (48). This was overshadowed by Congressional passage of the Indian Removal Bill on May 28, 1830, providing funds for the removal of the Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Seminole Indians to the Indian Territory. By mid-1830, the government was ready to conduct an active campaign in order to facilitate removal.

An invitation by the United States for the Chickasaws to negotiate for a removal to the Indian Territory coincided with the arrival of a new agent. Colonel Benjamin Reynolds, a native of Kentucky, a veteran of the War of 1812, and a resident of Columbia, Tennessee, received his appointment to the post on February 20, 1830. Like Smith, he was employed at a salary of \$1300 a year, but unlike the previous agent he worked in close harmony with the Colberts and other Chickasaw leaders. He arrived at the new agency house on June 30 and within a week had in his hands a letter from Secretary of War John H. Eaton inviting the Chickasaws to meet President Andrew Jackson at Franklin, Tennessee, to negotiate a removal treaty. Though Eaton's message was addressed to Reynolds, it was obviously directed at the Chickasaw chiefs. "Every Indian of sense and reflection must perceive that they cannot live happily within the state, to be subject to other laws than their own", he wrote, "Strife and disagreements must be the consequence. He (President Jackson) wishes you to bring these matters to their serious consideration and to afford me the result of your inquiries" (49). The agent was instructed to lead a delegation of Chickasaws to Franklin by August 15.

Reynolds and a delegation of twenty-one Chickasaw chiefs, fourteen mixed-bloods, seven fullbloods, set out from the agency on August 19, 1830. Included in the number were Major Levi Colbert, bearing the title "Councillor to the Chickasaw Nation", Colonel George Colbert, Major James Colbert, Captain William McGillivray, Captain Isaac Albertson, Major James Brown, Topulka, John McLish, and interpreter Benjamin Love. They arrived at Franklin three days later, and were welcomed by the President, Secretary of War Eaton, and General John Coffee. They were told that the President wished to negotiate a removal of the Chickasaws to the Indian Territory, for the benefit of the tribe (50).

In the negotiations that followed, John McLish, speaking on August 26, gave the Chickasaw outlook on past and future relations with the white people:

We were the first to build fires upon the land we now occupy. Yes, our fire side has been sought for by our white brothers; they saw it. We saw them approach with timidity. We met them, took them into our wigwams, warmed them, fed them and treated them like brothers--and now we think it

extremely hard at this advanced period in our lives to be informed that we must from necessity, if we wish to preserve ourselves as a nation, that we must seek a home in the unknown region of the West ...we feel a disposition to accomodate the view of our father in exchange of country as you have proposed if you will let us examine your country and we can find one that you have not already disposed of that will be equal to the one we now occupy, we will then talk in earnest about an exchange. Candour toward you, and justice to ourselves compells us to say to you that we cannot exchange the country where we now live for one that we never have seen (51).

The Chickasaw position was similiar to one taken earlier in the year and transmitted to the President, that any agreement to remove would hinge completely upon the ability of the Indians to find suitable property in the west. The Chickasaws were agreeable to removal, in fact if not in spirit. From August 26 to August 31 they ironed out the details with Eaton and Coffee. On August 31, the Treaty of Franklin was signed. The Chickasaws would go west if an exploring delegation found a suitable home. Half of the tribe would remove in the fall of 1831, the other in the fall of 1832. Those Indians who chose to remain in the east could do so.

During the negotiations, the Colberts managed to secure for themselves certain special allowances. By the treaty and supplemental articles negotiated on September 1, Levi Colbert, George Colbert, Tishomingo, William McGillivray, and Samuel Sealy were each granted four sections of land as reserves, to sell or retain after removal as they wished. James Colbert, James Brown, John McLish, and Isaac Albertson were each given two sections, while Malcolm McGee, Benjamin Love, Thomas Sealy, and Topulkah were granted single sections. Provisions were made for the education by the government of Levi Colbert's two sons, Abijah Jackson Colbert, age seven, and Andrew Morgan Colbert, age five, along with George Colbert's grandson, Andrew Jackson Frazier, age twelve. George was granted preemptory rights over Colbert's Island, just below the mouth of Caney Creek in the Tennessee River, but was to sell the 500 acre tract to the United States for \$1000 when he removed. James and Levi Colbert were granted a joint section of land which after removal was to be sold, to pay Levi for a horse stolen by a white man and to aid James in the payment of a \$1300 note due Robert Gordon of Cotton Gin Port, Mississippi (52).

The number and situation of the Colberts in 1830 differed markedly from that of 1818, when the first tribal census had been taken. Of the children of the old trader, only George, Levi, and James survived. George and his wife, Salechie, lived at their home on Coonewah Creek, with George taking a steadily declining role in tribal business. Levi and Mintahoyo lived at their large and valu-

able plantation near Cotton Gin Port. Levi was the leader of the Chickasaws, a fact not missed by T.L. McKenney in 1827: "Colbert is to the Chickasaws what the soul is to the body", he wrote. "They move at his bidding. They agree or disagree to any measure ...as the Speaker of the Nation may bid. As to the King, he is without power. Like all Indian kings, or the most of them, he is but the subject of some more able and intelligent mind--Levi Colbert is that mind" (53).

James Colbert was in the most unenviable situation of the three sons, for although he was a powerful chief, he was in financial and marital straits. At the Franklin negotiations, he acknowledged that he was insolvent, a fact that became more apparent when he was forced to recover several slaves he had earlier presented as gifts to friends and relatives. The slaves, his by virtue of his father's will, were in the hands of Benjamin Love, David Burney, Simon Burney, Susan Perry, John Perry, Joseph Perry, Shirlus Love, Levi Colbert, Joseph Colbert, John A. Bynum, Davis James, James Colbert Jr., Ebijah Colbert, and others. On November 9, 1830, three of these--Logan Colbert, Nuzeka Colbert, and Ebijah Colbert--tried to help their uncle's situation by returning to him two slaves (54).

Possibly as a result of James Colbert's insolvency, but probably for other reasons, his marriage to Susan James ended. Susan and the couple's minor children by 1830 were living in present Marshall County, Mississippi, while Major Colbert still lived near the old agency near present Houlika, Mississippi. There is no evidence to indicate that the couple ever reunited, and according to some documents, James eventually remarried (55).

Colbert clansmen were scattered in 1830 throughout the Chickasaw domain. Tennessee Colbert and her husband, John A. Bynum, were located less than a quarter mile north of Tockshish. Tennessee's sister, Susan, was married shortly after 1830 to a white man from Delaware named Lovard Morehead James, and set up residence near her mother at Chulahoma in Marshall County, Mississippi (56). William Colbert's daughter, Margaret, lived with her husband, Major John L. Allen, at the sub-agency five miles north of Tockshish. Another of William's daughters, Molly was by 1830 twice widowed: her first husband, Christopher Oxberry, had died about 1810; her second, James Gunn, had died in the spring of 1825. Molly had two sons, James and Silas, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Sally, by Oxberry, and one daughter, Rhoda Gunn, by James Gunn. Elizabeth Oxberry had taken for a husband one James Harris, a white man, and in 1817 a son, Cyrus, had been born to them. After the couple separated, Elizabeth married Malcolm McGee, the old Chickasaw interpreter who had settled among the Indians in 1767 at the age of ten. She and McGee had one daughter, Jane, born in 1820, but divorced in 1821 (McGee also had a son, Sam, by his first wife, Kanna-hoyo) (57). Sally Oxberry chose for her husband none other than her cousin, Martin Colbert, Levi's son. Rhoda Gunn would also marry a cousin, Samuel Colbert, son of Major James Colbert. Major Levi Colbert's family were for the most part located on and around his plantation. One exception was his daughter, Mrs. Kilpatrick

Car
in
fri
mil
183
in
M.
dre
of
fat
ban

des
liv
Peg
Cha
Ber
fir
ris
Col
to
spo
in
one
She
and
rig

nor
Maj
lat
sti
six
Geo
The
Ter
Riv
dis
wer
Dar
had
fir
Geo
of
bec
nig
lov
wit

hes
lar

Carter, who with her husband still lived near the Tennessee River in Alabama. Levi's old Buzzard Roost home was now owned by his friend, Major James Brown, and the Carters were living about a mile southeast of the new agency on Mulberry Creek. They had by 1830 four children-Pamela, Colbert (born in 1824), Malena (born in 1826), and Susan (born in 1829). Pamela would soon marry Francis M. Reynolds, son of the agent. Colonel George Colbert's children were scattered: Susan and John McLish lived about a mile south of the Carters, also on Mulberry Creek; Pitman lived with his father on Coonewah Creek near Oldtown; Jane lived with her husband, Charles Frazier; Vicy was still single.

The youngest of the second generation Colberts, Susan, was dead now thirty years. Her husband, or another James Allen, still lived among the Chickasaws, as did her daughter, Peggy Allen. Peggy had long ago married Simon Burney, and her own daughter, Charlotte Burney, was by now married to Chickasaw interpreter Benjamin Love. James Allen, like Major James Colbert plagued with financial difficulties in 1830, had several children by his marriage to Betsy Love. Four of his ten children were married to Colberts- Sally and Louisiana (Lucy) to Martin Colbert, Mississippi to Charles Colbert, and George to Charity Colbert (all these spouses were children of Levi). Betsy Love Allen resisted an effort in early 1830 by John Fisher, a Cotton Gin Port merchant, to seize one of her slaves in payment for a debt due him by her husband. She in time carried the case to the Mississippi High Court of Errors and Appeals, winning an important landmark case for women's property rights.

The ever-growing Colbert clan, like other Chickasaws, still nonetheless faced the ever increasing problem of land hungry whites. Major Levi Colbert and agent Benjamin Reynolds spent most of the late summer of 1830 preparing to explore the western country as stipulated by the Franklin treaty. On October 15, a delegation of sixteen chiefs accompanied the agent west. Among them were Levi, George, and Pitman Colbert, Thomas Sealy, and Henry Love (58). They arrived at Fort Gibson on the Arkansas River in the Indian Territory on November 20, then turned southwest toward the Canadian River. On December 18 they were met at the South Fork of the Canadian by an exploring party of Choctaws under George S. Gaines who were seeking more western land as a consequence of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, September 28, 1830, by which the Choctaws had agreed to move west. Only fifty Choctaws had removed since the first Indian Territory land was purchased for the tribe in 1820. George S. Gaines issued a report of the now combined experiences of the Choctaw and Chickasaw explorers: "The weather, now December, became quite cold", he wrote. "Large log fires at night, and longer nights, lengthened our social enjoyments. Our Choctaw hunting, war, love stories and wit, were now seasoned by army stories and wit" (59).

The party of explorers did considerable searching along the headwaters of the Boggy, Blue, and Washita rivers, where they found large parties of Osage, Delaware, Shawnee, and other wild nomadic

Indians encamped. The Chickasaws tried to negotiate with the Choctaws for the portion of the Choctaw domain that lay between the three rivers, but failed. Levi Colbert refused an offer by David Folsom that the Chickasaws come west and live among the Choctaws. Levi later took four of his tribesmen and examined the Caddo country south of the Red River, in an area of present Texas between the Red and Sabine rivers. Reynolds and most of the Chickasaw delegation arrived back in the Chickasaw Nation in late February, 1831, but Levi and his companions did not return until April. They reported that the Caddo lands in Texas would be an acceptable new home for the Chickasaws if the government would purchase it from Mexico (60).

Though the Choctaws found for themselves a suitable site for relocation and began preparations for removal, the Chickasaws failed. President Jackson received three reports on the Chickasaw explorations: from agent Reynolds, then at Little Rock, on February 9, 1831; from Secretary of War Eaton on March 31, 1831; and from the Chickasaw chiefs on May 28, 1831 (61). All of these reports indicated the inability of the tribe to reach a successful conclusion in their search for a new home (the Caddo lands in Mexican Texas were unavailable, and the Choctaws purchased the land along the Boggy and Blue rivers in the Indian Territory). As a result, Jackson did not forward the Franklin treaty to the Senate for ratification, and the treaty was voided. The President's next move was to again appoint Eaton and Coffee to once more negotiate a removal treaty with the tribe. "You will find you are left unrestricted as to the terms on which this is to be obtained", he wrote the two men on October 12, 1831. Eaton and Coffee were also directed to negotiate with the Choctaws for the sale of 4,500,000 acres of their western land for the Chickasaws (62).

While the removal of the Choctaw Indians was taking place in the fall of 1832, General Coffee entered the Chickasaw Nation (September 20) (63). Four days later, he presented his proposals to the assembled tribal council: the Chickasaws were to remove as soon as possible after finding a new home. Those Indians who wished to remain in the east could do so, and would be given reservations to occupy. The government would sell all unallotted land at public auction and place the funds in a special account held in trust for the tribe by the United States Treasury. The cost of the removal would be paid out of the proceeds from the land sale.

In typical fashion, John Coffee then presented to the chiefs certain articles designed to curry their favor at the treaty table. The proposed gifts came in the form of reservations which the Indians could keep or sell as they wished. Levi Colbert, George Colbert, Tishomingo, William McGillivray, and Samuel Sealy, "their old and faithful friends", would each receive four sections of land. George Colbert would receive clear title to Colbert's Island. James and Levi Colbert would again, as in the Franklin treaty, be given a joint section of land. Two sections each would

go to James Brown, James Colbert, John McLish, Isaac Albertson, and to certain "young men...educated and capable of assisting in the affairs of the nation", namely Pitman Colbert, Martin Colbert, Jameson A. Perry, and Emmubby. Single sections were to go to Ishtohotopah, Thomas Sealy, Benjamin Love, Malcolm McGee, and others, and fractional sections would go to John L. Allen and Benjamin Reynolds. An annuity would go to Tishomingo, and one would go to the old Chickasaw Queen, Puccsunla '64).

After throwing out Coffee's proposals concerning the reservations, the chiefs again agreed to exchange their lands east of the Mississippi for lands in the west. On October 20, the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek was signed to that effect by sixty-five chiefs, including Ishtohotopah, Tishomingo, Levi Colbert, George Colbert, William McGillivray, Samuel Sealy, James Brown, Isaac Albertson, Emmubby, Pitman Colbert, James Wolf, Captain Thompson, Newberry, John Lewis, John Glover, Chickasaw Nanubby, and Thomas Sealy. Colbert clansmen John L. Allen, Gabriel W. Long, and Benjamin Love were among the witnesses.

The main provision of the Pontotoc treaty was the cession of all Chickasaw lands east of the Mississippi river. Until such time as a new home was found in the west, each Chickasaw family was to be given a reservation, or allotment, upon which to reside. The size of the reservation was to be based on family size. All unallotted land was to be sold at public auction following a survey by the government. Occupancy of the land by whites was prohibited until such time as the Indians removed. The Indians could sell their reservations privately and retain the profits, but, again, white purchasers could not occupy the land until removal of the Chickasaws. To facilitate an early removal, the Chickasaws were bound to send an exploratory delegation to the west as soon as possible. The costs of removal were to be paid out of the funds arising from the sale of unallotted lands (65).

Although the Chickasaw chiefs had again agreed to removal, it is apparent that the vast majority of common Indians opposed leaving their ancient homeland. To allay the obviously forthcoming cries of treason, the chiefs had to come up with some kind of cover for the cession. What they did was to, almost immediately after signing the treaty, accuse Coffee of having used trickery and extortion in the proceedings. On November 22, 1832, Levi, George, Pitman, Daugherty, and Alexander Colbert, along with other chiefs, sent a well publicized memorial to President Jackson complaining of Coffee's methods and tactics (66). Although Coffee's journal has been lost, it is obvious that bribery was not necessary. The General's account book shows expenses totaling only \$2802.88, including drafts in favor of John McLish (\$1279.75), Benjamin Reynolds (\$380.77), and John L. Allen (\$336.69). The money represented the costs of room and board as well as goods and supplies. Meanwhile, Levi Colbert continued to play the role of a wronged leader by commissioning George Colbert, Tishomingo, Pitman Colbert, John L. Allen, and John A. Bynum to visit Washington and amend the treaty. No amendments resulted.

The year 1833 proved to be a quiet but trying time for the tribe, primarily as a result of the white intrusion that followed ratification of the Pontotoc treaty. In the summer, George Colbert, Levi Colbert, and Samuel Sealy were among the old Chickasaw chiefs called on to settle the Chickasaw-Choctaw boundary (67). White intrusion reached such a level by October that John L. Allen wrote that the area around Cotton Gin Port "is constantly kept full of whiskey by shop keepers and Peddling waggons. Great rioting and disorderly is kept up. Several murders has recently taken place by shooting and stabbing and c. among the natives" (68). An order by the United States Marshall for Mississippi that all intruders leave the nation by November 15, 1833, was flagrantly ignored and the government proved either unwilling or unable to enforce it. Meanwhile, a twenty-one man exploring party led by Levi Colbert, Pitman Colbert, Henry Love, and William McGillivray was dispatched to the Indian Territory. They departed the Chickasaw country in October, met with Choctaw representatives at Doaksville on December 21, and refused a suggestion that the Chickasaws be incorporated into the Choctaw tribe(69).

Although Levi Colbert's initial criticisms of the Pontotoc treaty were only the result of his self-preservatory instincts, there were in his opinion valid revisions needed. On March 7, 1834, he appointed himself, his son Martin, Isaac Albertson, Henry Love, and Benjamin Love to go to Washington and negotiate a supplemental agreement. The delegation left the Council House in mid-March, but on March 31 was forced to stop at the agency by a severe illness which struck Levi. Levi wrote a letter to President Jackson informing him that his illness prevented his journey, but that his brother, Colonel George Colbert, would replace him (70). The revised delegation continued on to the national capital, and on May 24, 1834, negotiated a new treaty with John H. Eaton. The delegation was accompanied by agent Reynolds and Gabriel W. Long, and once in the capital was joined by Francis W. Armstrong, agent to the Western Choctaws.

The 1834 treaty in effect invalidated the Pontotoc agreement, though its provisions for the exchange of countries, individual reservations, public auction of unallotted lands, and creation of a Chickasaw Fund were similar. No doubt the most important article in the new treaty dealt with the creation of the Chickasaw Incompetent Commission, a seven-man body organized to protect the rights of uneducated Indians during the sale of their individual allotments. The primary task of the commission was to validate all deeds made by Chickasaws to white speculators. The signature of at least two of the commissioners was required on each deed, testifying that the particular Indian was competent to make the sale and that he was receiving fair compensation for his reserve. Composing the original commission were the five delegates to the treaty proceedings--George Colbert, Martin Colbert, Isaac Albertson, Henry Love, and Benjamin Love--along

with Levi Colbert and King Ishtohotopah. The treaty further stipulated that should one of the commissioners die, a replacement would be named by the Chickasaw chiefs with the approval of the agent.

The new treaty also contained a number of individual reservations and gifts. The Chickasaws' "beloved and faithful old chief", Levi Colbert, was granted four sections of land. Each of the five delegates was granted a single section in consequence of the long journey to Washington. Colonel George Colbert received a fractional section of land within the limits of Alabama that included his old home and ferry on the Tennessee River, as well as title to Colbert's Island. Mintahoyo Colbert received one section, and other sections went to other chiefs. Levi Colbert and Isaac Albertson also received funds to pay their way to a "watering place" in order to improve their health (71).

While the Chickasaw delegation was winding its way home in early June, 1834, there occurred at Kilpatrick Carter's home near the agency the death of Levi Colbert on June 2 (72). The death of the old chief at age seventy-five marked the end of the Colberts' absolute dynasty.

Levi died a wealthy man and left for his family some 1200 cattle, 500 horses, 40 slaves, and numerous hogs and sheep (73). On June 26, 1834, Probate Judge Richard Dilworth of Monroe County, Mississippi, named Kilpatrick Carter and Alexander Colbert as administrators of the estate (74). Three white men--William A. Clum, Isaac Mayfield, and James B. Lucas--were appointed to appraise the estate (75). What these men could not appraise was the effect the death of Levi Colbert would have on the domination of Chickasaw affairs by his family. That domination steadily declined following his burial either in Alabama or at his Mississippi home.

"White men are worse than Indians everywhere"

--George Colbert, 1807

"He was looked up to as a father, and exercised a father's influence over his people"

--George Colbert's obituary, 1839

Chapter Five: Period of Adjustment

Following the death of Levi Colbert, control of Chickasaw affairs fell almost exclusively into the hands of the Incompetent Commission, whose six mixed-bloods and one fullblood held virtual control over the annuities and other financial matters. As a replacement for Levi, the Chickasaws recommended on August 24, 1834, that Major James Colbert be appointed (1). The appointment was formalized by the recommendation of James by agent Reynolds on September 14.

Domination of Colbert family affairs was now split among Levi's two surviving brothers, George and James, and two men of the third generation, George's son Pitman, and Levi's son, Martin. George was by now little more than an elder statesman, though a mightily respected one, but he did take part in tribal councils and carried on his commission duties. James likewise performed commission duties ably, helping locate and appraise reservations, conferring with other chiefs and government agents, and aiding in the operation of the tribal government. Pitman Colbert used his home on Coonewah as a base of operations, but also maintained a second home near his father's old ferry. Among the wealthiest of the new generation was Martin Colbert, who lived just south of Memphis on the east shore of the Horn Lake. Among his considerable assets were three wives and ten children. As eldest son of Levi, he commanded a degree of respect that was enhanced by his having attended school at Greeneville, Tennessee, in the early 1800s. A number of other third generation Colberts, including Charles, Daugherty, and Thomas, also became intimately involved in tribal affairs in the 1830s.

The years following the Treaty of 1834 saw a flurry of activity in the Chickasaw country. A land office was built in 1834 at Pontotoc, a new white settlement located seven miles northwest of the old Chickasaw village of Pontitock. By June, 1835, Surveyor-General John Bell had surveyed all of the Chickasaw cession in Alabama and seventy-two townships (2592 square miles) in Mississippi. Agent Reynolds and deputy agent John L. Allen occupied themselves throughout 1834 and 1835 with locating the Indian reserves as stipulated in the treaty. By the treaty,

each reservation was to include the home and improvements of the particular Indian, with the size of the reserve based on size of his family. Heads of families consisting of ten or more members were granted four 640-acre sections, while those with five to ten members were allotted three sections. Families of less than five members received an allotment of two sections. Families who owned more than ten slaves received an additional section, while those owning less than ten received an additional half-section. Single males and females age twenty-one and up each received one section, while orphans that age were allocated a half-section each. The reserves did not have to be contiguous; an Indian could take one portion of his allotment in one place, another portion elsewhere. The agent located the tracts, which were then recorded at the General Land Office at Pontotoc. Patents were then issued to the Indians. Probably the largest reserve in the nation was held by Levi Colbert's widow, Mintahoyo, and his heirs. This tract, south of Tallabinella Creek in Monroe County, Mississippi, consisted of ten sections of prime agricultural land amounting to 6400 acres. Levi's sons and daughters held at least another sixteen sections (10,240 acres) in present Monroe and adjoining Chickasaw County. Allotments to all persons surnamed Colbert was somewhere in the vicinity of eighty-two sections, or 62,480 acres, about one per cent of the entire Chickasaw Cession.

The Chickasaws failed to find a new home in the west when in November, 1835, Martin Colbert, Pitman Colbert, Thomas Colbert, and John K. Balch negotiated unsuccessfully with the Choctaws for a portion of their western country. The delegation returned home in January, 1836 (2).

Probably the most distinctive fact about the two year period following the 1834 treaty was the mass immigration of white intruders, mostly speculators, into the Chickasaw Nation. By December, 1835, two United States post offices existed in the nation, both overseen by sons-in-law of Major James Colbert (3). Lovard M. James was postmaster at Chulahoma on the Pontotoc-Memphis trail, while John A. Bynum was postmaster at Pontotoc. A particularly astonishing fact is brought to light by a map of the Chickasaw Cession compiled in 1835 by Henry M. Lusher and approved by agent Reynolds and surveyor John Bell. Twenty-four full-fledged white settlements were then illegally in existence in the Chickasaw country, all inhabited by whites numbering in the thousands. These towns were Hernando, Senatobia, Panola, Oxford, Chulahoma, Waterford, Holly Springs, Mount Pleasant, Lamar, Hudsonville, Spring Hill, Salem, Ripley, Danville, Rienzi, Jacinto, Carrollville, Pontotoc, Toccopola, Fulton, Houston, Pikeville, Coffeerville, and Turnersville (4). The increase in population was so marked that on February 9, 1836, the Mississippi Legislature formed that state's Chickasaw country into the counties of Chickasaw, Coahoma, DeSoto, Itawamba, Lafayette, Marshall, Panola, Pontotoc, Tippah, Tishomingo, and Tunica counties (in 1870 these counties were divided to create Alcorn, Benton, Clay, Prentiss, Tate, and Union).

The steady flow of white intruders into the Chickasaw Nation

brought upon President Jackson demands that he open the unlotted Chickasaw lands for public sale. In consequence, he on June 24, 1835, announced that the first auction would take place at Pontotoc on the first Monday of January, 1836. The government advertised the sale widely, and the proclamation appeared in the NASHVILLE UNION, THE JACKSON TRUTH TELLER, THE KNOXVILLE REGISTER, THE AUGUSTA CONSTITUTIONALIST, THE MOBILE COMMERCIAL REGISTER, THE HUNTSVILLE DEMOCRAT, THE NEW YORK TIMES, and some sixteen other eastern and southern newspapers. A swarm of investors from throughout the east and south were attracted to the auction. Colonel Robert B. Tinnin, land office registrar at Pontotoc, conducted the sale with the aid of auctioneer Benjamin Clements and clerk Gabriel W. Long. The sale saw a few investors dominate the market, and most of the Chickasaw land sold that day for a little over \$1.25 an acre (prices later rose to two and three dollars, but the final computation of the sales, taken in 1850, showed that the average price of unallotted lands was about 82¢ an acre). The auction in January and a second one held on September 5, 1836, brought to the Chickasaws the sum of \$530,000.

The scene at Pontotoc in the fall of 1836 was described by Edward Fontaine:

Pontotoc is a flourishing embryo town in the centre of the Chickasaw Nation. It is located in a fine salubrious region. It stands on the range of the Cumberland Mountains, which is here the dividing ridge between the waters of the Tombigbee and Yazoo and Tallahatchie. The first house was built here in 1835: now there are 24 stores and near 1000 inhabitants. Its present prosperity is entirely ephemeral. The extensive mercantile establishments and extensive taverns are supported almost exclusively by the crowd of speculators and adventurers who attend the land sales, and the Indians who have sold their reservations and received their value. Hundreds of these are now in the streets. Many drunk and most of them wasting their money as fast as they can. It is amusing to see their displays of finery. Their drepes are all of the most fanciful kinds--of every variety of cut and color. Some of them are ridiculously gaudy, while others are rich and tasty--giving the wearers a martial and splendid appearance. As soon as the land sales are over and the money of these ignorant savages is expended the glory of Pontotoc will fade, and its wild novelty vanish and it will appear as but--as the other respectable inland towns of our country. At present it resembles a Methodist camp ground. Its buildings are a collection of rude ill-constructed huts

with the exception of a few neat little framed painted dwellings--these are tenanted by a collection of people from every State, and from many foreign countries. In this collection is centered perhaps more shrewdness and intelligence than can be found in any other congregation of the same size (5)

Coincidental with the sale of the unallotted lands was the sale by individual Indians of their reservations, as mentioned by Fontaine. These lands were sold primarily to the ever-growing horde of speculators and land companies who haunted the country. Some of the buyers, however, were other Chickasaws who sold the land at a handsome profit. The Colberts sold a portion of their reserves in 1836. The family entrepreneur, Colonel George Colbert, sold two sections of his Alabama property to J. Lane on September 16, 1836, for the amazing sum of \$28,800, and three weeks later, on October 7, sold Colbert's Island in the Tennessee River to William Kogur for \$3700 (the island today is called Kogur Island). Miley Colbert, the almost forgotten widow of General William Colbert, sold a single section to Rev. Stuart that included the Monroe Mission on March 31, 1836, for \$1600, but retained other lands. Major James Colbert sold several sections in 1836: two in Chickasaw County for a combined sum of \$2800, and one in Marshall County for \$2000. Charles Colbert garnered \$10,500 for the sale of three and a half sections of his prime Monroe County land, while his brother Lemuel managed \$2000 for the sale of one and a half sections adjacent to his father's estate. Samuel Colbert was a speculator in Marshall County, selling four and a half sections for \$10,800. Dicey Colbert, Levi's daughter who on April 11, 1834, had married a white man named Noah Watkins, sold her single section reserve for \$3100 in June. Adam Colbert claimed \$3450 for two sections of Monroe County land, while Alexander Colbert sold four nearby sections for \$7900. Mintahoyo Colbert got \$7000 for two sections of Levi's old estate on May 12, while her son, Abijah, sold two and a half sections for \$6000. Winchester Colbert sold his two and a half sections in distant DeSoto County on April 7, while Molcy Colbert received \$3500 for one section in Marshall County. Mrs. Tennessee Bynum, whose husband, John, had died in February, 1836, sold her four section reserve in April and June for \$11,700, some of which went to her three children, Turner, Elizabeth, and John Jr. Mrs. Susan Colbert, estranged wife of Major James Colbert, had the peculiar task of selling one section of Choctaw land in Carroll County, Mississippi, a tract awarded her by the Choctaw treaty of 1830. She made \$3500 from another section of land in Marshall County, selling it to her daughter, Molcy. Still another \$3750 came from the sale of another section. Another daughter, Mrs. Susan James, made

\$11,760 from the sale of two and a half sections in Marshall County. One of Mrs. Colbert's grandchildren, Charles Frances Eastman, got \$120 for his reserve--a single lot within the corporate limits of Chulahoma in Marshall County. The Colberts therefore received thousands of dollars for their lands in 1836, and made thousands more in the next fourteen years (6).

The fast chain of events that was transpiring in the mid-1830s--the treaties, the mass of intruders, the land sales--also included new attempts to find a home for the Chickasaw people in the west. A move was imperative now. On September 12, 1836, George Colbert, Benjamin Love, Henry Love, Ishtohotopah, James Colbert, William McGillivray, Thomas Sealy, Emmubby, and others commissioned their "friends", Major John McLish, Captain James Perry, Major Pitman Colbert, Major James Brown, and Captain Isaac Albertson, to negotiate with the Choctaws for a portion of their land in Indian Territory at a price of not more than one million dollars. These chiefs departed the Chickasaw Nation in the company of Henry R. Carter in October, and on January 17, 1837, they negotiated at Doaksville in the Choctaw country a treaty. By the terms of this document, the Chickasaws paid the Choctaws \$530,000 for the use of lands between the Boggy, Blue, and Washita rivers. Under the terms of the treaty, the Chickasaws and Choctaws were to form a joint government in the Indian Territory (7).

The final discovery of a new home in the west brought about a quick removal of the Chickasaws from Mississippi and Alabama. On February 17, 1837, Pitman Colbert, John McLish, Isaac Albertson, and William McGillivray informed President Jackson that a considerable portion of the Indians would be ready to emigrate in the spring, and that the tribe wished him to appoint a director of the removal and secure steamboats for the trip (8). The President responded by appointing Major Arthur M.M. Upshaw of Pulaski, Tennessee, as Removal Superintendent (9). By April, government agents had purchased 1,300,000 rations consisting of one pound of salted pork (or one quarter pound of salted beef) and one and a fourth pounds of corn meal. These rations, intended to last one day each for each Indian, were marked for distribution along the route to the Indian Territory. Enough to last during the removal and for a year afterward, the rations were stored at depositories at Memphis, Little Rock, and Fort Coffee (10). The primary route to the Indian Territory was by steamboat from Memphis down the Mississippi River to the mouth of the Arkansas River, thence up the Arkansas past Little Rock and on to Fort Coffee in the Indian Territory. From there the Chickasaws were to go overland to the Chickasaw District in the Choctaw Nation. On October 1, 1837, the government contracted with a steamboat agent from Kentucky to provide six vessels for the removal at a cost of \$14.50 per Indian (11).

Chickasaw removal, long the goal of the white citizens of Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee, began in the summer of 1837, with the main body of Indians emigrating in November. Over 3000

of the 5440 Chickasaws departed by steamboat up the Arkansas and another 2000 traveled by land across Arkansas to the Choctaw Nation in the Indian Territory. Colberts and Colbert kinsmen who made this arduous journey in 1837 included Mrs. Tennessee Bynum, Mimey Colbert, Thomas Colbert, Winchester Colbert, Rhoda Gunn, Cyrus Harris, Richard J. Humphreys, Joel Kemp (married to Levi Colbert's daughter, Mariah), William McGillivray, John McLish, James Neely McLish, and Noah Watkins (12). Colonel George Colbert was among a party of 260 Indians under the charge of Major John McLish who arrived at Fort Coffee aboard the steamboat FOX on November 21 after a week's journey from Memphis (13). The aged chief, however, soon returned to Mississippi. By the end of December, over 2600 Chickasaws had passed through Fort Coffee, and by March, 1838, over 4500 were in the Indian Territory with others enroute. Most of these immigrants settled around the government supply depot on the Boggy River and eastward in the Choctaw Nation. The Chickasaw District was occupied by wild Plains Indians, and the Chickasaws were in no mood to wage war.

Chickasaw removal was a tragic but awesome spectacle. A visitor in Memphis witnessed the sight in November, 1837:

I have struck upon a great band of Chickasaws bound to new lands in the west. I do not think I have ever been a witness of so remarkable a scene as was formed by this immense column of moving Indians, several thousand, with a train of Govt. wagons, the multitude of horses; it is said three to each Indian & beside at least six dogs & cats to an Indian. They were all most comfortably clad, the men in complete Indian dress with showy shawls tied in a turban fashion round their heads, dashing about on their horses, like Arabs, many of them presenting the finest countenances and figures I ever saw. The women also decently dressed like white women, in calico gowns, but much tidier and better put on than common white people, and how beautifully they managed their horses, how calm and erect, they sat in full gallop...it was a striking scene at night, when the multitude of fires kindled, showed to advantage the whole face of the country covered with white tents and white covered wagons, with all the interstices filled with a dense mass of animal life in the shape of savages, uncouth looking white hunters, the picturesque looking Indian negroes...the fondness for dogs was the most prevalent and amusing...some had their cats and litters of kittens, others their favorite chickens, ducks, and turkeys.. no one man was like another...their clothing was all of the bright colors of the rainbow---what curious scenes one does mix in, when moving about our immense country (14)

A considerable portion of the Colbert clan chose to remain temporarily in Mississippi following the mass exodus of their tribesmen in November, 1837. As wealthy mixed-bloods, more white than Indian perhaps, they felt almost comfortable among the thousands of whites who now flooded their old nation. A great number of the family members who remained were located in Marshall County around Holly Springs and Chulahoma, though another faction (William and Levi's heirs) still maintained lands in Chickasaw, Pontotoc, and Monroe counties. These people spent their time handling personal matters, though Major James Colbert, Colonel George Colbert, and others spent much of their time carrying out their duties on the Incompetent Commission.

But gradually the Colberts joined their friends in the west, for the 1832 and 1834 treaties had declared that no Chickasaw could remain in the east (the Chickasaws were the only tribe of the Five Civilized Tribes who did not leave a remnant of their people in the east). Colonel George Colbert, Major James Colbert, Major Pitman Colbert, Robert Colbert, and others left Mississippi in October, 1838, and arrived at Doaksville in December (15). Both George and James had made previous trips to the Indian Territory on tribal business, and had selected for themselves valuable tracts of land along the Red River (James was apparently in better financial shape than in 1830, for he provided twenty beeves weighing between 400 and 700 pounds each to a group of 200 Chickasaws that emigrated in early 1838 (16)). In the fall of 1839, another party headed by Ishtohotopsh arrived in the Choctaw Nation, a group that included Lemuel Colbert, Charles Frazier, and Charles Colbert (17). A census made in the Indian Territory in the fall of 1839 shows that Abijah, Adam, Charles, Chersey, Commodore, David, Diana, George, Hetty, James, Joseph, Logan, Lemuel, Mimey, Mintahoyo, Morgan, Pitman, Ride, Robert, Thomas, Vicy, and Winchester Colbert, along with their families, were then settled in the west (18). Colbert kinsmen there in 1839 included Tennessee Byunm. Rhoda Gunn, Cyrus Harris, R.J. Humphreys, Joel Kemp, William McGillivray, James McLish, Silas Oxberry, Noah Watkins, Charles Frazier, Eastman, and the Pitchlynns (one of the Colbert girls prior to 1826 married John Pitchlynn Jr., son of a longtime Choctaw interpreter. John Jr. was killed in 1832 and left children named Hiram, Ebenezer, and John) (19).

The final emigration of the Colberts and their relations came during the years 1840-1846. As a prelude to their move, several members of the Colbert, Love, Burney, Moore, and James families of Marshall County, Mississippi, sent 340 of their slaves to the Indian Territory with Col. Benjamin Love in September, 1840 (20). Levi Colbert's daughter, Lotty James, her husband Davis James, and their son Roberson James arrived in the west on January 10, 1841 (21). James Colbert Jr., Mrs. Susan Colbert, Lovard M. James, Samuel Colbert, Charles F. Eastman, Daugherty Colbert, Molcy Colbert, and Colbert Carter all arrived in the west in December, 1842 (22). Benjamin Love and Molly Gunn emigrated in August, 1843 (23). The year 1844 saw David Burney,

George W. Colbert, Morgan Colbert, and Abijah Colbert finally immigrate to the west (24). Last of the Colberts to move was Benjamin Franklin Colbert, son of Martin, who came west in 1846 (25).

The Chickasaw people experienced removal with less disasters and fatalities than the other Southern Indians, yet suffered no less mental anguish. The Indians found themselves in a harsh environment in the west, unable to move into the Chickasaw District until 1843 because of the continued presence of wild Plains Indians, forced to live among the Choctaws whose numerical superiority occasioned contempt, and plagued by a general sense of apathy and malaise. The establishment of Fort Washita on the river of that name in 1843 finally did allow movement into the Chickasaw District. Major Pitman Colbert, however, was one of several wealthy mixed-bloods who chose to remain in the Choctaw districts, along the Red River near Doaksville. He made 108 bales of cotton in the fall of 1841 and hired a white man to oversee his plantation (26).

The Chickasaw tribe had been ruled by virtually the same men since the year 1800, but the period coinciding with removal saw many of the old chiefs die. Among these were Samuel Sealy (1837), James Brown (1837), Emmubby (1837), Tishomingo (1841), William McGillivray (1844), and Henry Love (1845).

Death struck the Colberts. Colonel George Colbert died at Fort Towson, near Doaksville, on November 7, 1839, and was given a military funeral (27). His daughter, Susan, had lost her husband, John McLish, in January of February, 1838 (28). Another daughter, Vicy, had married Dr. John McDonna in January or February, 1840 (29) and died in January, 1846. George's widow, Salechie Colbert, died on February 1, 1846 (30).

Major James Colbert died at Doaksville in the spring of 1842 (31).

Martin Colbert, son of Levi, died at his home on the east shore of Horn Lake in DeSoto County, Mississippi, in the summer of 1840 (32). He was a wealthy planter whose estate was valued at \$33,197. 82 (33). Surviving him were three wives--Sally Oxberry, Lucy Allen, and Sally Allen--and eight children: Benjamin Franklin, Margaret, James Allen, Rebecca (all by Sally Allen), Henry Clay, John Randolph, Minerva, and John Calvin (all by Lucy Allen) (34). Martin's property in DeSoto County was sold by his widows and children between 1845 and 1871, the last deed signed by Sally Oxberry Albertson (who had married old Isaac Albertson after Martin's death) on December 16, 1871.

William James Colbert (William Colbert Jr.) died at Pontotoc in the summer of 1837 (35). His wife, Kunnoyie, died in the winter of 1838 (36).

Thomas Colbert, son of Major James Colbert, died in Arkansas during the winter of 1841-1842 (37).

Charles Colbert, son of Levi, died in the winter of 1841-1842. He left a wife, Mississippi Allen Colbert, and a daughter, Rebecca (38).

James Allen, the white settler who may have married Susan Colbert, daughter of trader James Colbert, died in 1835. His wife, Betsy Love Allen, died at Toccopola in Pontotoc County, Mississippi, on September 5, 1837 (39).

Simon Burney, husband of Peggy Allen, died in Mississippi

in the spring of 1842 (40). James Colbert Jr., Benjamin Love, Henry Love, and David Burney acted as administrator of Simon's estate, which included thirty-four slaves valued at \$14,675, eight oxen, six mules, at least ten horses, and three section of land in Chickasaw County, Mississippi (41). He also left his widow and two children, Charlotte (wife of Benjamin Love) and David. Peggy, David, and David's wife, Lucy James Burney, departed for the Indian Territory in December, 1843; at Shreveport, Louisiana, on January 15, 1844, a son was born to David and Lucy and was christened Benjamin Crooks Burney.

Chickasaw leadership in the 1840s revolved around the the chief of the Chickasaw District, Isaac Albertson (first elected in 1837) and the tribal captains, who numbered between fifteen and twenty, and the Chickasaw Incompetent Commission. There was a natural rivalry between the two entities. Still a third faction was a group of conservative chiefs led by King Ishtohotopah and Major Pitman Colbert who wished to return to the ancient system of hereditary chiefs. The Incompetent Commission changed faces many times in its eleven year history. George Colbert, Levi Colbert, Martin Colbert, Isaac Albertson, Ishtohotopah, Henry Love, and Benjamin Love had composed the original group in 1834. Major James Colbert had succeeded Levi upon the latter's death in June, 1834. Major Pitman Colbert had succeeded his father, Colonel George Colbert, upon the latter's death in 1839, but resigned a few months later. In November, 1840, the Chickasaws had met at Boggy Depot and appointed Charles Colbert to succeed Pitman Colbert, Slone Love to succeed his resigned brother, Henry, and James Wolf to succeed the late Martin Colbert (42). On June 15, 1842, Joseph Colbert and James Gamble were appointed to fill vacancies caused by the deaths of Charles and James Colbert (43).

A power struggle between the Commission and Pitman Colbert erupted, with debate over who should be in charge of the annuity payments due the tribe from their General Fund. Complaints about the handling of finances by the Commission dated back to 1840, when some claimed that the commissioners showed undue favoritism by buying their supplies from the high-priced firm of Saffrans and Lewis at Boggy Depot. Choctaw agent William Armstrong had conducted an investigation and found no violations. In 1845, Pitman Colbert and Ishtohotopah demanded that the annuity and other funds be placed at the disposal of the King, and angrily accused the Commission of practicing fraud upon the Chickasaw people (44).

The debate culminated in a general council held at Boiling Springs in the Chickasaw District in July, 1845. To the surprise of many, the Incompetent Commission disbanded when the commissioners resigned on July 18. Pitman Colbert seized the opportunity to select a new commission friendly to his political ambitions. The new group included William P. Stuart, Daugherty Colbert, Davis James, Edmond Pickens, and Pitman's son-in-law, Sampson Folsom. The former commissioners, including Joseph Colbert, and others, including Winchester Colbert, then denounced Pitman's efforts to control the Chickasaws (45). The feud was settled in November, 1845, when Pitman gave up his ambitions and all sides agreed to the appointment of Edmond Pickens to the new office of Financial Chief. Albertson continued as District Chief, and the Incompetent Commission was no more.

Removal and resettlement had been a rough experience for the Chickasaw people. William Armstrong, writing from the Choctaw agency on June 29, 1838, reported that:

The first party of Chickasaws that came here, arrived the last of July, 1837. And a portion of the same party that divided at Little Rock and went on to Red River reached the Choctaw Nation near Col. Fulsom's the last of August. These people have made very little indeed some of them nothing to live on, and the same may be said of the whole nation. Some have planted corn while others the poorer class have nothing. I have not since my return seen but one or two of the principal men of the nation, from what I can learn I have no doubt the whole nation will petition for further subsistence, with the great scarcity of provisions in the Choctaw Nation, and the poor prospects of crops, owing as they say to small pox. I do not see how a larger portion of the emigrants are to get on without some assistance, should the Department determine to extend relief, a shorter period than a year might do. A larger portion of the Chickasaws are disposed to be idle, and if gratified in their wishes, would expend every dollar they had (46)

From Fort Towson in January 1, 1839, Ishtohotopah, Charles Colbert, Greenwood, Isaac Albertson, James Wolf, Major James Colbert, and others petitioned the President for corn for their people, while Albertson, James Colbert, and others, writing from the Choctaw agency on February 1, asked that two blacksmiths be sent to them, one to settle near the confluence of the Boggy and the Blue, the other to settle on the Canadian (47). Wolf, Albertson, James Colbert, and George Colbert, at Boggy on February 15, also asked that the money due the incompetent Chickasaws be sent from Mississippi at once in order to alleviate the distressing situation (48). Pitman Colbert, Ishtohotopah, William McGillivray, and others, at Fort Towson on April 1, 1840, still demanded the incompetent funds. In August of that year, James Colbert and others were still seeking the money and complaining that the incompetent tribesmen "have no stock either of hogs or cattle and are destitute of clothing and provisions" (49). In May, 1841, the chiefs asked that \$50,000 be taken from their general fund and be forwarded to the tribe at once (50). Not until 1843 did the tribe receive any annuities, due in 1837.

The annuity payment of 1843 and the coincidental establishment by the government of military posts to ward off the wild Plains Indians had allowed the Chickasaws to settle in their district.

By that time, progress was being made. Chickasaw agent Upshaw's report of August, 1842, showed a considerable improvement in crops with a large quantity of corn, some wheat, and rye being planted; cotton production lagged as the tribe concentrated on filling a contract for corn destined for Fort Towson. There were no schools or churches in the Chickasaw District, but many of the Indians attended services at Boggy Depot or listened to circuit riders. Blacksmiths were located on Blue, near Fort Towson, and on Brushy Creek. Some Indians had cotton gins and one had a four-horse mill well suited for grinding corn or wheat (51).

The Chickasaw government inched toward stability following the Boiling Springs Council of July, 1845. In addition to having a District Chief, Isaac Albertson, and a Financial Chief, Edmond Pickens, the tribe sent two senators and a representative to the Choctaw General Council. James Wolf was the representative in 1845, while Benjamin Love and James McLaughlin held the senatorial posts. Slone Love was Speaker for the General Council. James Gamble was secretary of the Chickasaw tribe, and Joseph G. Mitchell was District Judge. In 1846 James McLaughlin succeeded Albertson as District Chief.

An important census of the Chickasaw people was taken in 1847. The census not only listed heads of families, but also listed the number of persons in the family and the property and crops owned by the family. Several members of the Colbert clan ranked high. Pitman Colbert was among the wealthiest, ranking second among the Chickasaws in slaves (98), fourth in horses (45), second in cattle (350), second in sheep (80), first in corn production (9000 bushels), seventh in wheat production (160 bushels), seventh in oat production (400 bushels), and second in cotton production (160 bales). First in most of these categories was Susan Jones, Pitman's sister and widow of John McLish. She was by then married to a wealthy Choctaw, Robert M. Jones. She ranked first in slaves (145), horses (60), cattle (700), sheep (175), wheat production (1200), and cotton production (250 bales). She also ranked third in hogs (400), second in corn production (7400 bushels), third in oat production (1000 bushels), and third in potato production (700 bushels).

Other members of the Colbert clan ranked high. Mrs. Susan Colbert ranked seventh in slaves (40), fifth in hogs (200), and fourth in cotton (34 bales). Samuel Colbert ranked tenth in slaves (33), eighth in cattle (120), first in hogs (700), and fifth in cotton (32 bales). James Colbert Jr. ranked eighth in slaves (38), ninth in oats (300 bushels), fourth in potatoes (500 bushels), and sixth in cotton (30 bales). Joseph Colbert ranked sixth in corn production (3000 bushels). Molcy Colbert ranked eighth in cotton (20 bales).

Major Levi Colbert's descendants did not fare as well as those of George and James Colbert. Robert Colbert, however, ranked tenth in cattle (115) and sixth in cotton (30 bales). Sally Oxberry Colbert, widow of Martin, ranked sixth in corn

production (3000 bushels) and third in potatoes (500 bushels). Winchester Colbert, Levi's adopted son, ranked ninth in wheat production (125 bushels). The only other Colbert who ranked in the top of any of these categories was Shinhota Colbert, whose relation to the other Colberts has not been uncovered. He may have been a son of General William Colbert. Shinhota ranked fifth in horses (35) and third in potato production (500 bushels).

The 1847 census indicates that the number of persons in the Colbert clan, related either by blood or marriage, was somewhere in the vicinity of 225 persons. Major Levi Colbert's living heirs included Charity (Mrs. George G. Allen), Abijah, Adam, Benjamin, Daugherty, Lemuel, McKenney, Morgan, Mariah (Mrs. Joel Kemp), Lotty (Mrs. Davis James), and Robert. George Colbert's living heirs included Susan (Mrs. Robert M. Jones), Jane (Mrs. Charles Frazier), and Pitman. Major James Colbert's heirs included Mrs. Tennessee Bynum, James Jr., Joseph, Molcy, Samuel, and Mrs. Elizabeth Eastman. General William Colbert's heirs included Logan, Nuzeka, and Molly (Mrs. James Gunn). Adopted children included Robert and Winchester, children of either Samuel or Joseph, who were sons of trader James Logan Colbert. Known fourth generation clansmen listed on the census included David Burney, Turner Bynum, Colbert Carter, Joseph Colbert, Sampson Folsom, Jackson Frazier, Jane Guy, Cyrus Harris, Richard J. Humphreys, Roberson James, James Neely McLish, William McLish, and Pamela Reynolds. Unidentified Colberts included Alfred, David, Lafayette, and Shinhota. Only one widow of the four notable sons of James Logan Colbert was still living: Susan, widow of Major James Colbert. Mintahoyo Colbert, Levi's widow, Mimey Colbert, William's widow, and Salechie Colbert, George's widow, were all dead by 1847 (52).

Pitman Colbert dominated the family's reduced role in tribal affairs. In March, 1848, he, Isaac Albertson, Davis James, John McGillivray, James McLaughlin, and others were appointed to visit Washington in order to clear up financial problems arising from the land sales in Mississippi and Alabama. The group, escorted by Gabriel W. Long and Choctaw chief Peter Pitchlynn, spent most of that spring and summer in the national capital. Pitman took the opportunity to have his youngest son, Zachariah, educated by the whites. His attempt to do so proved to be a bitter disappointment, for upon his return to the Indian Territory in the fall he discovered that Zach was also enroute home. Zach had "blasted every hope that I entertained for his welfare, & has given me little or no hope of ever returning to his studies at any place", he wrote (53). Perhaps compounding the disappointment was the fact that three of Zach's cousins, Lafayette, Samuel, and Joseph Colbert (the last two being sons of William Colbert Jr.) were then doing well in an academy at Plainfield, Connecticut. Pitman had also been instrumental in getting another cousin, Hiram R. Pitchlynn, enrolled at Greencastle Seminary in Indiana in September. Another of the Colbert boys, Holmes Colbert (son of James Jr.), was a fine student at Delaware College in Newark, Delaware (54).

The Chickasaws constantly strove to improve their government.

On November 4, 1848, they drew up a new constitution clarifying the duties of the tribe's elected officials. Isaac Albertson, Edmond Pickens, Chickasaw Nanubby, Lemuel Colbert, Daugherty Colbert, Winchester Colbert, and Benjamin Love were among the delegates. In January, 1847, a tribal council had set the salaries for officials, with the District Chief receiving \$500 a year, the district clerk and speaker \$200, school trustees \$150, members of the Choctaw General Council, district judges, and captains of the light-horse \$100, members of the light-horse \$60, and tribal captains \$100 (55). In July, 1849, the Chickasaws created a three man commission called the Committee of Vigilance to visit Washington annually until all the tribe's eastern lands were sold. The committee members were provided a salary of \$800 a year, an additional \$200 for travel expenses, and per diem of \$15 a week while in Washington (56). In November, 1850, Sampson Folsom, Winchester Colbert, and Jackson Frazier journeyed to Washington on tribal business.

One of the rising members of the Colbert clan was Cyrus Harris, the great-grandson of General William Colbert. Born three miles south of Pontotoc, Mississippi, on August 22, 1817, he was educated at the Monroe Mission and in Giles County, Tennessee. In 1837 he journeyed to the Indian Territory, and was one of the founders of Boggy Depot in the Choctaw Nation. He had attended the Boiling Springs Council in 1845, where he saw Isaac Albertson, a relative, battle Pitman Colbert, another relative, for control of the tribe. Because of his education and his family ties, Harris was appointed Clerk of the National Council in July, 1849.

Two members of the Colbert clan died in 1849. Colonel Benjamin Love, the United States Interpreter, was assassinated at his home on July 4. A Shawnee was arrested, imprisoned at Fort Washita, and implicated two Chickasaws in the plot. The Chickasaws were later cleared (57). Colonel Love left his mother, Emahota Love; three brothers-William, Robert Howard, and Samuel; one sister, Delilah Moore; his wife, Charlotte Burney Love; and two daughters, Agnes and Narcissa. The second to die was Captain Isaac Albertson, whose marriage to Sally Oxberry Colbert in 1848 earned him membership in the clan. He died a few months after the murder of Benjamin Love (58). He was serving as President of the Chickasaw National Council at the time of his death, and had served as District Chief from 1837 to 1846. He left his wife and two sons by a former marriage, Logan and Isaac Jr.

A new breed of Chickasaw leaders was emerging. Edmond Pickens, born in 1789, was a halfblood who served as Financial Chief from 1845 to 1848 and as District Chief from 1848 to 1852. His half or stepbrother, James McLaughlin, was appointed United States Interpreter in 1849. Richard J. Humphreys, a white man and son-in-law of the late John McLish, was named attorney for the Chickasaws in 1851. George Frazier McLish, John's son, likewise became an attorney, while his brother, James Neely McLish, was elected treasurer of the tribe in 1851.

In an effort to further strengthen their government and prepare for the long awaited day when the Chickasaws would separate

from the Choctaws, the Chickasaws called another constitutional convention. It convened on October 6, 1851, at Post Oak Grove in their district, with an aging Major Pitman Colbert as the presiding officer. The new constitution that resulted provided for a district chief elected every two years, a speaker, auditor, treasurer, and a tribal council consisting of thirteen captains and thirteen representatives. Ten of the twelve men then serving as captains were to serve four more years, two others were appointed for life, and the thirteenth was to be elected along with the representatives on the fourth Monday in August, 1852. Voting precincts were set up at Fushmaline, Perryville, Shuppoway, Arch McGee's, Caudle's Old Shop, Running Water, Blue Springs, Glass'es Creek, and Boiling Springs. Delegates to the convention included R.J. Humphreys, Roberson James, Cyrus Harris, James N. McLish, Samuel Colbert, Captain George Frazier McLish, Captain John McGillivray, Captain Joel Kemp, William Kemp, and Davis James. District Chief Edmond Pickens, tribal secretary Benjamin S. Love (nephew of the late Benjamin Love), Financial Chief Daugherty Colbert, and clerks Sampson Folsom and Holmes Colbert were also in attendance.

Sampson Folsom, son-in-law of Pitman Colbert, was making his mark in Chickasaw affairs. On February 2, 1852, the tribal council appointed him as their sole representative in Washington. The act was signed by Daugherty Colbert, Benjamin S. Love, and Joel Kemp, President of the National Council. Technically, Sampson was a Choctaw. Born in 1820, he was the son of David Folsom (1791-1847), a leading Choctaw figure for years, and of Rhoda Nail. His three brothers--Israel, Isaac, and Robert--were very influential in the Choctaw Nation and his aunt, Rhoda Folsom, was the wife of Principal Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn. Sampson was married to Pitman Colbert's daughter, Catherine (1825-1884).

Major Pitman Colbert died unexpectedly at his home near Doaksville on February 26, 1853, at the age of fifty-six. He was survived by his wife, Sarah McGillivray Colbert, and four children--Zach, Henry, Catherine, and Harriet (wife of Henry N. Folsom). The Chickasaw leader was buried under his porch. The tomb was later robbed (59).

While Daugherty Colbert, Winchester Colbert, Holmes Colbert, and others of the clan were replacing the older men in service to the Chickasaw people, another was devoting his time to more domestic but nonetheless important activities. Benjamin Franklin Colbert (December 18, 1826-March 11, 1893), eldest of Martin's sons, had by 1848 established himself on a 500 acre plantation on the Red River, where he owned a sawmill, a gristmill, and a cotton gin. In 1853, he established ferry service across the Red River at present Colbert, Oklahoma, thus again creating a "Colbert's Ferry". In time, he would accomplish even greater feats.

Colbert control of Chickasaw affairs had declined immeasurably since the death of Levi in 1834, but members of the clan played a significant role in the 1850s. Until his death in 1853, Pitman Colbert was by far the most influential of his family and one of the most important men in the tribe. This was particularly true after he abandoned his selfish plans to seize control of the tribal power structure in 1845. Captain Jackson Frazier, Pitman's nephew, succeeded Edmond Pickens as District Chief in 1852, and was re-elected to another two year term in 1854. Daugherty Colbert continued to hold the office of Financial Chief until 1856. Holmes Colbert was appointed tribal secretary in 1853 and was a frequent delegate to Washington, as were Winchester Colbert and Cyrus Harris. Joel Kemp, married to Mariah Colbert, was President of the Chickasaw National Council in 1853.

The Chickasaws' adoption of the 1848 and 1851 constitutions were efforts to assert their independence and signify their capability to regulate their own affairs. The Chickasaws were highly resentful of their union with the Choctaws, for it had been a marriage of necessity rather than of desire. An Army investigator, Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock, toured the Indian Territory in 1842 and wrote of the matter:

I have to speak of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, showing the discontent of the latter under the treaty by which they purchased the right of settlement among the Choctaws. They don't like the conditions of that treaty; thought they were procuring a country for themselves. Don't like to part with their name. Don't like the boundary of their district at any rate, want wood and water, the line too crooked. Don't like the Choctaw laws and are overruled in Council. Supposed wealth of the Chickasaws exposed their women to marriage with the Choctaws and this the Chickasaw men don't like. No remedy for all clear ... (60).

But there was a remedy. First came a treaty at Doaksville on November 4, 1854, whereby the Chickasaw-Choctaw boundary was redefined. Edmond Pickens, Benjamin S. Love, Sampson Folsom, and James T. Gaines represented the Chickasaws. Then came a most important document. A treaty was signed at Washington on June 22, 1855, whereby the Chickasaws purchased outright their district from the Choctaws for \$530,000. Edmond Pickens and Sampson Folsom were the Chickasaw negotiators. The Chickasaw Nation would be restored.

The Chickasaws met at Tishomingo on August 30, 1856, to draw up a new constitution. For the first time in nearly twenty years, the tribe was again independent. Jackson Kemp, longtime Chickasaw

interpreter, served as president of the convention. Among the delegates were Sampson Folsom, Benjamin S. Love (married to a Colbert), Cyrus Harris, Lemuel Colbert, Morgan Colbert, George Frazier McLish, Joseph Colbert, Edmond Pickens, Winchester Colbert, Daugherty Colbert, Henry McKinney (married to Margaret, daughter of Martin Colbert), Joel Kemp, James Neely McLish, and Samuel Colbert, all members of the Colbert clan. The delegates created a governmental structure similar to that of many states. An elected governor would serve a term of two years. A legislative branch would be composed of twelve senators and eighteen representatives elected from the four counties (Pontotoc, Panola, Pickens, and Tishomingo). A judicial branch was headed by a three-man Supreme Court, and also contained district, county, and local courts. Other offices were authorized for later creation, and in time the tribe had a National Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, Jailor, Interpreter, and Superintendent of Public Instruction. Tishomingo was selected as the capital of the Chickasaw Nation. The Chickasaws looked forward to a new, happier, time.

"The Indians are falling off from their former customs & habits"

--Rush Nutt, 1805

Chapter Six: The Clan and the Chickasaw Nation, 1856-1893

The formation of a new system of government did not end Colbert influence on the Chickasaw political scene, but no longer could they rely upon their past achievements and personal influence to capture control of tribal affairs. The Chickasaw people could be expected to rely primarily upon the new elected officials, particularly the Governor, for leadership. The object then, of the Colberts and their large clan of relatives, if they wished to influence the tribe's direction, must then be to capture high political offices. Family leadership now rested with two men, Winchester and Holmes Colbert, though influential relatives included Cyrus Harris, Joel Kemp, Sampson Folsom, and the McLishes.

The first gubernatorial election, held in the fall of 1856, saw Cyrus Harris defeat two candidates. He actually won in the legislature, for the popular vote did not prove conclusive. The 39-year old Harris took seventeen of the thirty votes cast in the legislature and was inaugurated in the presence of an old teacher and friend, the Reverend Thomas C. Stuart of Pontotoc, Mississippi.

The Harris administration occupied itself with strengthening the new government. During 1856-1858, laws were passed prohibiting liquor, polygamy, and gambling, providing for orphans, and specifying that all marriages be recorded. The offices of National Treasurer, District Attorney, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and National Secretary were created. Each of the four counties was provided with a judge, sheriff, constable, clerk, district attorney, and superintendent of public instruction, along with two senators and three representatives. County seats were located at Stonewall in Pontotoc County, Briar Creek in Pickens County, Tishomingo in Tishomingo County, and Rock Springs in Panola County. Tishomingo also served as the national capital, and a courthouse was erected. Supreme Court positions were filled by the tribal legislature, while district and county judges were elected by the people.

In general, the Harris administration was a quiet but busy one in which the Colbert clan played a significant role. Sampson Folsom continued to serve as the tribe's delegate to Washington, until replaced by James Gamble on February 9, 1857. Holmes Colbert was appointed National Secretary late in 1857. Winchester

Colbert served in the legislature. Apparently, however, one influential member of the family died about this time. Daugherty Colbert, longtime Financial Chief and best educated of Levi's sons, is not mentioned after the Constitutional Convention of August, 1856. He left his wife, Jincy, and one son, George, born in 1853. Ironically, his cousin, Winchester, Levi's adopted son, was also known as Daugherty Colbert, thus doing much to confuse Colbert geneologists (1).

Winchester Colbert, who incidentally had a reputation as an accomplished fiddler, was elected Governor over Cyrus Harris in 1858, and his administration followed the quiet progress of the previous two years. Activity on the Sabbath was regulated by a series of Blue Laws. The office of National Jailor was created. Strict laws were passed punishing those who caused civil disturbances. Schools flourished: by 1859 there were four in the nation --the Chickasaw Manual Academy, Wapanucka Institute for Girls, Colbert Institute, and Burney Institute. All operated to capacity during the Colbert administration.

As tribal courts began to function, many Colbert clansmen were called on for jury duty. Included in this group were Joel Kemp, Governor Winchester Colbert, Henry McKinney, Logan Colbert, Charles F. Eastman, and Robert Colbert, all who saw service between 1857 and 1860. During the period 1861-1866, Colbert Carter, Abijah Colbert, Benjamin Franklin Colbert, John Colvin Colbert, Henry Clay Colbert, Homes Colbert, James Allen Colbert, J.E. Colbert, Levi Colbert II, Morgan Colbert, A.T. Eastman, Charlie Eastman, and William McLish also sat in judgement of their fellow tribesmen (2).

Cyrus Harris nudged Winchester Colbert for the governorship in 1860, and was in office when the Civil War broke out in April, 1861. The majority of Chickasaws, as slaveholders, sided with the Confederacy. Governor Harris on May 25, 1861, issued an executive proclamation stating that the Chickasaws were free of all obligations to the Union, that the tribe was independent, and that they wished the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles to join in a defensive alliance. The order was countersigned by Colbert Carter and James N. McLish (3). On July 12, 1861, the Chickasaws and Choctaws signed a treaty at North Fork in the Creek Nation whereby they became allies of the Confederate States of America (4). They were followed by the Seminoles, Cherokees, and Creeks, though the two latter were split in their affections. Among Colbert clansmen who signed this treaty were Sampson Folsom (signing for the Choctaws), Holmes Colbert, Joel Kemp, Winchester Colbert, Henry C. Colbert, James N. McLish, and Samuel Colbert.

Fortunately for the Chickasaws, the Civil War did not bring devastation to the nation. Most of the battles took place in the Creek and Cherokee nations. The Chickasaw troops were part of a joint Chickasaw-Choctaw unit titled the First Indian Brigade led by their former United States agent, Brigadier-General Douglas H. Cooper. Most of the Chickasaw involvement in military action was devoted to helping Cooper stop an army of pro-Union Creeks from seeking refuge in Kansas during the early years of the war. Among the Colberts who served in the Confederate Army were Benjamin Franklin, Calvin, Cole, Henry, Isom, Jackson, James, Jose, Logan, Lynn, Wilson, Samuel, and Silon. Other clansmen held

various public offices during the war, including Cyrus Harris (Governor 1860-1862, House Clerk, 1863), Colbert Carter (Senate Secretary, 1863), William McLish (Speaker of the House, 1863-1864), and Winchester Colbert (Governor, 1862-1866). Winchester Colbert fled the Nation in 1864 when a Union attack seemed imminent, but returned the next year (5). On July 14, 1865, he declared hostilities with the Union over. On April 28, 1866, Chickasaw delegates Winchester Colbert, Edmond Pickens, Holmes Colbert, Colbert Carter, and Robert Love joined the Choctaws in signing a harsh treaty with the United States providing for an end to slavery, the creation of a Leased District for freedmen who wished to move, payment of reparations to pro-Union Chickasaws and Choctaws, and the granting of railroad rights-of-way through their nations. The only good point was the resumption of the annuity payments due them and disbursement of other funds due them (6).

Winchester Colbert was succeeded in 1866 by Cyrus Harris, and returned to his farm nine miles east of present Berwyn, Oklahoma. In 1877 he moved to Atoka, where he died in the fall of 1880 (7). Harris, elected to a fifth term as Governor in 1872, was defeated in 1874 by Benjamin F. Overton, whose conservative backing reflected a growing fear of intruding whites, who were increasing in number in the Nation. In 1876, Overton (a grandson of James Allen and Betsy Love) defeated Harris again by a vote of 283-63. Harris made his last bid for office in 1878 against Benjamin Crooks Burney, Overton's brother-in-law. The election was thrown into the Legislature with Harris leading in the popular vote by fourteen votes. The Overton-dominated group threw out sixteen of Harris's votes and elected Burney as Governor. Harris retired to Mill Creek, near Tishomingo, where he died January 6, 1888 (8).

Benjamin Crooks Burney served but two years, probably because of an agreement with Overton. Overton easily won election in 1880 and again in 1882, but died in office in 1884. Mixed-blood Jonas Wolf served as Governor from 1884 to 1886 before another Colbert clansman, William Malcolm Guy, was elected. Guy's father, Col. William Richard Guy, was a removal agent in the 1830s and first postmaster at Boggy Depot. His mother, Jane McGee Guy, was a daughter of Malcolm McGee and Elizabeth Oxberry Harris McGee (mother of Cyrus Harris). Guy defeated William Leander Byrd, a cousin of Overton, in 1886. The overriding issue in the election was the liberal attitude toward the whites as platformed by Guy and the opposite course suggested by the conservative Overton-Burney-Byrd faction.

Governor Guy served as an able chief of state, in 1888 going before Congress to oppose passage of an act creating the Oklahoma Territory out of lands west and adjacent to the Indian Territory. He was unsuccessful, however, for the next year the first of the Oklahoma land runs began, and two years later the Territory of Oklahoma was carved out of lands west of the 98th meridian. Oddly enough, Guy, whose basic support came from the whites, dis-

enfranchised them by order dated April 8, 1887. As a result, he was defeated by Byrd in a hotly contested election in 1888. Guy later served in the legislature and on the staff of Oklahoma Governor C. N. Haskell. He died at Sulphur on June 2, 1918 (9).

Still the leading entrepreneur of the later-generation Colberts was Benjamin Franklin Colbert. His ferry across the Red River at Colbert brought him considerable profit, just as an earlier ferry had brought wealth to George Colbert. In 1858, Colbert was selected as the crossing point on the river by the Butterfield Stage Company, whose stagecoaches carried passengers and cargo to the far west. In 1875, B.F. Colbert built a \$40,000 wagon bridge across the river, spanning 577 feet in length and sixteen feet in breadth. He was married four times, and one of his sons, Holmes Colbert, was later a leading tribal official. B.F. died at Colbert on March 11, 1893, and was buried in the family cemetery east of his home (10).

Other Colberts achieved note in the post Civil War days. James Allen Colbert, Morgan Colbert, Winchester Colbert, and Joel Kemp joined B.F. Colbert in hiring white men to oversee their plantations in the late 1860s (11). David Burney, Colbert Carter, and Holmes Colbert were among Chickasaw officials who negotiated a normalization of Chickasaw-U.S. relations in 1865 and 1866 (12). John Calvin Colbert (1838-1871) was a graduate of the Vanderbilt Law School, operated a stage depot called "Carriage Point" four miles west of Durant, and was a member of the legislature. The Reverend George Colbert (1853-1911), only son of Daugherty Colbert, was a Baptist minister, member of the legislature, and County Clerk of Pontotoc County. Joel Kemp was a tribal official who also operated a ferry, at present Kemp; after his death in 1875, his son, Joel C. Kemp, took over the operations (13). Wilson Colbert served in the Chickasaw Senate in 1874. Wesley B. Burney (a son of David Burney), David Colbert, and Martin Colbert II served as guards at the annuity payment of 1875. Levi Colbert II and Noah Colbert were deputy constables in 1876, while B.F. Colbert served in a similar capacity in 1877. Old Abijah Colbert served in the Senate in 1882, and served later as a justice of the Chickasaw Supreme Court. Humphrey Colbert was an interpreter for the court. Holmes Colbert, a son of B.F. Colbert, was a three time delegate to Washington in the 1890s and served as trustee of Bloomfield Academy in 1901. Benjamin H. Colbert, a son of James Allen Colbert, rode with Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders during the Spanish-American War, and then served as President Roosevelt's secretary. From 1901 to 1907 he served as United States Marshall for the Southern District of the Indian Territory. Dixie Colbert was a member of the legislature in 1905.

Yet the Colberts, like other families, have their "skeletons". The much scattered Chickasaw National Archives make vague references to crimes committed by members of the family during the post-war era. One interesting but inconclusive case involved Calvin

Colbert. Calvin was arrested in 1873 along with another Chickasaw, Dickson Thomas, and charged with murder in the District Court of Tishomingo County (14). Apparently the prisoners were boarded at the home of John Colbert until trial in April (15). Colbert and Thomas were represented by Chickasaw attorney George W. Harkins, while the prosecution was led by Robert L. Boyd. When the case was heard again in 1876, the two defendants were represented by Boyd's brother, Thomas C. Stuart Boyd. The two were convicted, and following sentencing appealed the case to the Panola County Circuit Court. The Panola court continued the case until April, 1877, but tribal records lose track of it.

Among other Colberts mentioned in the Attorney General's Reports of the Chickasaw Nation is Levi Colbert II, who was hauled into court three times between 1879 and 1880 for violations. In July, 1879, he was charged with violating the timber laws. In April, 1880, he was hauled before Panola County authorities for violating stock laws and committing larceny. The stock violation was thrown out, but the other case was continued. Unfortunately, we again lose track of the results.

At least two other Colberts were apparently on the wrong side of the law. Charles Colbert was tried for some unknown crime in Tishomingo County Circuit Court in May, 1890 (15). Humphrey Colbert, Attorney General for the Chickasaw Nation, resigned in September, 1881, following charges that he had accepted a bribe (16).

The majority of the Colberts were no different from their fellow tribesmen during this time, yet the family's history has been permeated with at least one legend. That story deals with Escar Colbert, who during the early days of the Civil War was entrusted by the Choctaw Nation to bury some \$200,000 in tribal funds in the Kiamichi Mountains in order to save the money from Union soldiers. After doing this, Colbert and eleven companions joined the Confederate war effort, during which all but Colbert were killed. Colbert, crippled, returned to the Choctaw Nation. After his wounds healed in 1867, he led representatives of the Choctaw government into the Kiamichis in search of the buried treasure. There, according to legend, he was killed by outlaws as he sat astride his horse. A shotgun blast had blown off his head. His horse, headless body still astride, then disappeared into the dark. The money was never recovered, as treasure seekers were scared away by the sight and sound of the "Ghost of the Kiamichis". Today, they say, Escar Colbert still haunts the Kiamichis (17).

Life in the postwar Chickasaw Nation did not differ materially from that of other frontier American areas. Most Chickasaws lived in crude cabins with dirt floors, homemade furniture, and windows of glass or hornskin. Although tribal land was held in common by all members of the tribe, each Indian tilled or raised animals on as much acreage as he desired. Crops included corn, cotton, sorghum, sugar cane, vegetables, oats, wheat, and grains.

Horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep roamed the worm-fenced pastures. Clothes were made of cotton (called linsey and used for dresses and coats) or wool (called jeans and used for blankets, menswear, and coats). With only a few physicians in the nation, medicines came primarily from herbs and roots. Dyes were made from berries, containers from gourds, and soaps from ash lye. Salt presented a particularly difficult commodity to obtain. One early Chickasaw pioneer remised that her father would go to Giles Thompson's salt works near Boggy Depot every October and spend two months there making salt. Thompson's large iron pots held fifty gallons of water, which boiled out eight or ten pounds of salt. Cotton was ginned at horse-operated gins such as the one at Daugherty, where it took three to three and a half hours to prepare a bale. Oats were threshed with a "tumbling rod" machine powered by horses. A good cotton crop averaged a bale and a half per acre.

Chickasaw schools were rarely more than picket log houses, although the Harley Institute had two stories, the top story having twenty-two bedrooms for teachers and students. Rooms at Harley were equipped with an iron bed, chairs, tables, and candles for lighting. Less formal schools were merely day schools, equipped only with a wood-burning stove and benches made of split logs. Schools averaged three or four months in session. Though there was no uniformity in textbooks, among the most popular were the blue backed spellers, MCGUFFEY'S READERS, Ray's THIRD PARTY ARITHMETIC, and Reed's or Kellog's GRAMMAR. Tuition at most Chickasaw institutions ran from one to one and a half dollars per month, from which teacher salaries and supplies were financed.

Entertainment in the Indian county was, as with the whites, often associated with work. The cotton harvest, corn shuckings, quilting bees, house and barn raisings, and candy pullings were often followed by dances or a Brush Arbor meeting with sermons given in both Chickasaw and English (18).

Post-Civil war history of the Chickasaws revolves around the problems of white intrusion and allotment (the transition of tribal land in common to land ownership by individual Indians). White men, government and otherwise, saw the division of the Indian lands into individual plots as an easy way to gain entrance into the Indian Territory. Once an Indian received his allotment, reasoned the whites, they could cheat or coerce him out of it. By the terms of the 1866 treaty restoring harmony between the Chickasaws and Choctaws and the United States, the two tribes were bound to consider the allotment of their lands. As early as November, 1866, the Chickasaw legislature, urged on by Governor Colbert, went on record as being favorable to allotment. The treaty, however, had stipulated that both tribes agree to it jointly, and the Choctaws were opposed. By 1870, the Chickasaws were no longer unified on the subject, as they formed into two political camps. The Chickasaw National or Pullback Party opposed allotment. The Progressive Party, dominated by mixed-bloods and inter-married whites, supported allotment and suffrage for the inter-marrieds. The inability of the two factions to reconcile their

differences on these difficult questions brought three decades of bitterness and internal strife into the Chickasaw political arena.

Yet the Chickasaws enjoyed a flourishing postwar economy. By 1874, when the Union Agency (a consolidated agency which replaced the individual agents to the Five Civilized Tribes) issued its first report to the Secretary of the Interior, the tribe was faring even better than in the prewar years. The report showed that the Chickasaws owned 4,649,958 acres of land, some 38,000 of which was either in cultivation or in fenced pasture. Wheat and corn were the primary crops, followed by potatoes, oats, hay, beans, and turnips. Thirteen schools included 18 teachers and 230 pupils, while twenty churches of various faiths provided religious instruction to a thousand members. Wealthy, with nearly two million dollars in the General Fund at Washington, the Chickasaws understandably wished to retain the status quo (19).

The situation of the Chickasaws improved even beyond this level. In 1877, the thirteen tribal schools, four of which held academy status, were instructing 1,133 Chickasaw children. In three of the four academies, tuition ran \$175 a year, while in the fourth, the cost of tuition, supplies, and clothing ran to \$200. Teachers were paid \$450 a year, which was raised in 1880 to \$500 (20). One important guide to Chickasaw progress is that the level of literacy rose from 1000 persons (1876) to 2500 (1877) to 3600 (1880), testifying to the work of various schools, churches, and missionairies (21). Fifteen youths were receiving an education in the States, while tribal expenditures for education averaged \$40,000 annually. By 1882, some 4800 of the 5800 tribesmen could speak English. Cultivated acreage rose from 38,000 in 1874 to 60,000 in 1882, with another 150,000 acres in fenced pasture. The Chickasaws in 1882 harvested some two million pounds of cotton and raised over 140,000 cattle, the latter triple the number in 1875 (22).

This pleasant period was destined to end. On February 23, 1885, the United States Senate marked the end of placidity by ordering an investigation into conditions in the Indian Territory. A year later, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs called for the allotment of all tribal lands there. Intrusion mushroomed; the Union Agency's 1886 report shows that among the intruders were cattlemen, farmers, coal and timber thieves, tramps, vagabonds, refugees, and whiskey peddlers. Over 150,000 illegal cattle were pastured on Chickasaw land, a situation the forty-three Chickasaw Indian Police were powerless to control (23). In 1887, the Atchinson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad entered the Nation, and was followed in time by the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and the Rhode Island Railroad. A reaction to this turn of events was the adoption of a formal platform by the Chickasaw National Party at Hiestotibby Place in Tishomingo County on April 28, 1888, opposing allotment, intrusion, citizenship for the freedmen, and the intervention of the Federal

Government in Chickasaw affairs. They elected William Leander Byrd as Governor over Progressive William M. Guy in 1888, marking the first major political contest in which allotment was the primary issue (24).

Although Chickasaw Senator Smith Paul of Paul's Valley notified Union Agent Leo E. Bennett that most Chickasaws favored allotment in the late 1880s, the political punch of the Progressives was practically nil. In the 1890 gubernatorial election, Governor Byrd once again battled Guy. Guy ran far ahead in Pickens County, which was filled with whites, intruders, and mixed bloods, and captured the popular vote. Byrd's Pullback-dominated legislature responded by throwing out the tainted Pickens County votes, and declared Byrd the winner. Smith Paul, a Guy supporter and advocate of allotment, then entered the Chickasaw capitol at Tishomingo with a small army and oversaw the swearing in of Guy. Byrd protested to Agent Bennett, and was proclaimed the winner (25). In 1892, another Pullback candidate, Jonas Wolf, was elected Governor over Progressive Colbert A. Burriss, reflecting, despite Smith Paul's assertions to the contrary, the desire of the Chickasaw people to be left alone by the whites.

Despite the mounting external problems facing the Chickasaw government, there was considerable domestic progress. Nineteen neighborhood schools were scattered throughout the Nation in 1892--four in Pickens County, three in Panola, four in Tishomingo, and eight in Pontotoc. These schools were open ten months a year, and averaged 468 pupils each. Five academies were in operation, averaging 2228 in average daily attendance. These were Harley Institute at Tishomingo, Bloomfield Seminary for females in Panola County, Wapanucka Academy at Wapanucka, Collins Institute for females at Stonewall, and the Chickasaw Orphans Home and Manual Academy in Pickens County. School expenditures were running at \$94,550 a year (26).

"The Chickasaws have not a friend of the white man in the country"

--Pitman Colbert, 1842

Epilog: End of an Empire

The Colbert dynasty, evolving in the 1740s during the rise of trader James Logan Colbert to prominence, had reached its peak in 1805 and continued at that level until the death of Major Levi Colbert in 1834. There had thereafter followed a short period when the Colberts were forced to share their control of the tribe with the Chickasaw Incompetent Commission. Pitman Colbert, by ousting that agency in 1845, brought to the family a slight restoration of their influence. The revival lasted past Pitman's death in 1853 to 1866, when Winchester Colbert ended his last term as Governor of the Chickasaw Nation. After that, the dynasty experienced a slow death which came with the defeat of clansman Cyrus Harris for the governorship in 1878. After 1878, the Colberts were no longer the supreme rulers of the Chickasaw Nation. Other men filled the void, a new enlightenment allowed more people the opportunity to rule, a preoccupation of the Colberts with other business took over.

The Chickasaw Nation's demise was destined to begin in 1893. Eight days before the death of Benjamin F. Colbert at Colbert, Congress established the Dawes Commission, a three man group whose instructions were to pressure the Five Civilized Tribes into the allotment of their lands and the dissolution of their governments. There was resistance among the Chickasaws, and it was not until August 24, 1898, that the Chickasaws and Choctaws voted in favor of allotment. By then their country was filled with white intruders (in 1900 over 150,000 whites lived in the Chickasaw Nation as opposed to less than 6000 Chickasaws), their land was covered with the white man's chattel, their will power shattered by an awareness that once again the white's would have their lands. Congressional passage of the Curtis Act in 1898 meant the abolishment of all tribal courts, allotment, the preparation of tribal rolls as a basis for allotment, the surveyance of townsites, the government takeover of tribal schools, and in effect the abolition of the Chickasaw government. The Act also applied to the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the Seminoles.

Events steamed toward the inevitable conclusion, statehood for the Indian Territory, either separately or in conjunction with the Oklahoma Territory to the west. On September 5, 1899, Chickasaw delegates met with the Dawes Commission at South McAlester to make plans for a final tribal census, a roll of those Chickasaws eligible for allotments. They agreed that after October 31, 1899, no child born to a Chickasaw or Choctaw citizen or freedman or intermarried white could be enrolled for allotment. A Supplementary Agreement, signed on March 21, 1902, extended that period to March 4, 1906, a date set by the Federal Government for the termination of all tribal governments. Dawes Commission personnel worked feverishly to enroll individual Chickasaws and Choctaws, who were to receive allotments of 320 acres in either nation. The allotments were assigned in 1903, and reserves were set aside for coal, asphalt, timberlands, churches, schools, and cemeteries. In the summer of 1905 came a last gasp by the Five Civilized Tribes as they petitioned Congress for the admission of the Indian Territory as the State of Sequoyah. On November 7, 1905, the Indians approved the Sequoyah motion by an overwhelming vote of 56,279 to 9,073. Congress looked the other way. On March 4, 1906, tribal governments were abolished, and the Indians became wards of the Federal Government. The Chickasaw tribal rolls were closed--showing 1538 fullbloods, 4146 mixed bloods, 635 intermarried whites, and 4670 freedmen. On June 16, 1906, President Roosevelt signed an enabling act providing for the admission of the Indian Territory and the Oklahoma Territory to the Union as the State of Oklahoma. On November 16, 1907, Oklahoma was proclaimed the forty-sixth state, and the Chickasaw Nation breathed its last. The Colberts' old empire was no more.

After 1907, the Chickasaws, including the Colberts, moved into the mainstream of American life. They scattered throughout the United States, attended colleges, bought houses and farms, entered business, and fought in the four great wars of this century. Chickasaws became as their white contemporaries--architects, painters, soldiers, laborers, teachers, businessmen, farmers, and so on. In Oklahoma, where there was no Chickasaw reservation, the tribe continued to own land. A Governor of the Chickasaw Nation continued in office, though his duties were now considerably diminished. Douglas H. Johnston, at one time married to Nelly Bynum, great-granddaughter of Major James Colbert, served as Governor from 1904 until his death in 1939. Floyd Maytubby served from 1939 until 1963. Overton James has served since 1963. Things had changed, but still, at Ardmore, Tishomingo, and Durant, at Kemp, Colbert, and Burneyville, at Wapanucka, Pauls Valley, and Ada, and elsewhere, Chickasaw Indians gather and still gather to speak of their long and exciting past.

Since 1907, members of the Colbert family have achieved prominence in various fields. One of these was Frank Overton Colbert, born at Riverside, Oklahoma, on August 6, 1895, the son of Holmes Colbert and Ella Overton. Frank Overton Colbert served in the United States Navy during World War I, but earned his niche in

history not as a sailor, but as a first-rate artist. His paintings, which primarily deal with Indian life, have been exhibited in Paris, New York, Washington, and elsewhere. Another of the latter day Colberts to achieve prominence is Charles Ralph Colbert of New Orleans; he is a nationally known architect who has been listed in Who's Who lists several times in recent years.

The Colberts are a fascinating family--a clan with a history as unique as any in American history. Its story is intertwined with Chickasaw history, and for many years the story of the Colberts was the story of the Chickasaws. During a hundred year reign, the Colberts shaped, molded, and made that history into a story of valor, honor, bravery, and enlightenment. The progenitor, James Logan Colbert, would have been proud.

Notes

Chapter I

1. E. Merton Coulter and Albert B. Saye, A LIST OF THE EARLY SETTLERS OF GEORGIA (Athens:1949), pp. 83-86.
2. Cyrus Harris to Harry Warren, August 10, 1881, in Warren's "Chickasaw Traditions, Customs, Etc.", PUBLICATIONS OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VIII, p. 546.
3. Samuel Cole Williams, ed., JAMES ADAIR'S HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS (Johnson City:1930), p. 398.
4. Frank R. King Notes, Natchez Trace Parkway Headquarters, Tupelo, Mississippi
5. John Richard Alden, JOHN STUART AND THE SOUTHERN COLONIAL FRONTIER (Ann Arbor:1944), pp. 128-129.
6. Walter Clark, ed., THE STATE RECORDS OF NORTH CAROLINA (Winston: 1895), XI, pp. 176-179.
7. Alden, p. 200.
8. Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, "Peter Chester", PUBLICATIONS OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Centenary Series, X, p. 135.
9. Bernard Romans, A CONCISE NATURAL HISTORY OF EAST AND WEST FLORIDA (reprint Gainesville:1962), pp. 62-63.
10. Chachere to Turvino, September 5, 1785, in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., SPAIN IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1945 (Washington:1946), III, p. 146.
11. Clark, X, pp. 767, 771, 785.
12. Willie Jones to Caswell, June 2, 1776, *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 743.
13. Cruzat to Miro, August 8, 1782, Kinnaird, III, pp. 49-54.
14. Campbell to James Colbert, November 23, 1780, in William E. Palmer, ed., THE CALENDAR OF VIRGINIA STATE PAPERS (Richmond:1875), I, p. 391.
15. Warren, "Chickasaw Chiefs and Prominent Men", PUBLICATIONS OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VIII, pp. 556-557.
16. Dale Van Every, A COMPANY OF HEROES: THE AMERICAN FRONTIER, 1775-1783 (New York:1962), p. 263.
17. Warren, "Chickasaw Chiefs and Prominent Men", pp. 561-562.
18. Declaration of Labaddia, July 5, 1782, Kinnaird, III, p. 31.
19. Colbert to Miro, October 6, 1782, in John Walton Caughey, BERNARD DE GALVEZ IN LOUISIANA, 1763-1783 (Berkeley:1934), p. 236; also see Kinnaird, III, p. 60.
20. Robert S. Cotterill, THE SOUTHERN INDIANS: THE STORY OF THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES BEFORE REMOVAL (Norman:1954), p. 54.
21. Colbert to Miller, November 12, 1783, in May Wilson McBee, ed., THE NATCHEZ COURT RECORDS, 1767-1805 (Ann Arbor:1953), pp. 257-258.
22. McGillivray to O'Neill, January 7, 1784, in Caughey, MCGILLIVRAY OF THE CREEKS (Norman:1938), p. 68.

Chapter II

1. O'Neill to Miro, December 22, 1788, Caughey, MCGILLIVRAY, p. 212.

2. William Blount to James Robertson, August 11, 1795, Robertson Papers, Tennessee State Archives, Nashville.
3. Declaration of Labaddia, July 5, 1782, Kinnaird, III, p. 31.
4. George Colbert to Joyce or Turnbull, July 10, 1788, in D.C. and Roberta Corbitt, eds., "Papers from the Spanish Archives, 1783-1800", PUBLICATIONS OF THE EAST TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1943, p. 92. To be cited hereafter as PETHS.
5. James Allen settled among the Chickasaws prior to 1793 (Deposition of James Allen, April 16, 1819, Deed Book 1, p. 115, Monroe County, Mississippi).
6. Van Every, *ARK OF EMPIRE: THE AMERICAN FRONTIER, 1784-1803* (New York: 1963), p. 233.
7. Minutes of the Nashville Indian Conference, August 7-15, 1792, in Walter S. Franklin and Walter Lowrie, eds., *AMERICAN STATE PAPERS Class Two: Indian Affairs, I* (Washington: 1832-1834), pp. 284-285. To be cited hereafter as ASPIA. See also Delavilleauvre to Carondolet, September 12, 1792, in Kinnaird, III, pp. 81-82.
8. ASPIA, I, p. 284.
9. George Colbert et al to Carondolet, February 11, 1793, PETHS, 1957, pp. 154-155.
10. Delavilleauvre to Carondolet, April 4, 1793, *Ibid.*, 1958, p. 103.
11. Delavilleauvre to Gayoso, May 25, 1793, *Ibid.*, 1960, pp. 89-92.
12. Gayoso to Carondolet, October 18, 1793, *Ibid.*, 1964, p. 70. Gayoso noted that one of the two Colberts, William or George, was also called Piomingo. At the Nashville Indian Conference, William was called "Chooshemataha", while George was called "Tootemastubbe".
13. Blount to Knox, October 5, 1793, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES, IV* (The Southwest Territory), p. 307.
14. Fooy to Gayoso, April 5, 1794, PETHS, 1967, p. 89.
15. Blount to Robertson, August 6, 1794, Robertson Papers.
16. Piomingo to Robertson, August 9, 1794, *Ibid.*; see also Van Every, *ARK OF EMPIRE*, pp. 321, 323.
17. Blount to Robertson, August 31, 1794, Robertson Papers.
18. Robertson to Blount, January 13, 1795, ASPIA, I, pp. 556-557.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Robertson to Blount, January, 1795, Robertson Papers.
21. George Colbert et al to Robertson, March 5, 1795, *Ibid.*
22. John Haywood, *THE NATURAL AND ABORIGINAL HISTORY OF TENNESSEE* (reprint Jackson: 1959), p. 448.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Alexander Cornell to William Colbert et al, July 27, 1795, Robertson Papers.
25. Haywood, pp. 455-456; see also Talk of George Washington to John Brown the Younger, William Colbert, William McGillivray, and Malcolm McGee, August 22, 1795, Robertson Papers.
26. Pickering to Henley, August 26, 1795, Records of the Department of War, Office of Indian Affairs, typescript Natchez Trace Parkway. To be cited hereafter as OIA.
27. Blount to Robertson, September 10, 1795, Robertson Papers.
28. Pickering to Henley, July 23, 1795, OIA; Blount to Robertson, September 10, 1795, Robertson Papers; Blount to Robertson, October 2, 1795, *Ibid.*

29. Haywood, p. 459.
30. Ibid., p. 461.
31. Warren, "Chickasaw Chiefs and Prominent Men", pp. 558-559.
32. Guion to Samuel Mitchell, February 18, 1798, in Dunbar Rowland, ed., SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY (Jackson:1909), p. 68; Guion to Wilkinson, September 2, 1797, Ibid., p. 44.
33. Benjamin Hawkins to James McHenry, July 6, 1797, in THE LETTERS OF BENJAMIN HAWKINS, 1796-1806, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, IX (Savannah:1916), pp. 178-179.
34. Ibid.
35. Hawkins to McHenry, June 24, 1797, Ibid., p. 179.
36. George Colbert et al to Blount, February 13, 1798, Robertson Papers.
37. Hawkins to Secretary of War, August 29, 1798, LETTERS, p. 490.
38. Piomingo is last mentioned in Robertson to Secretary of War, October 20, 1798, Robertson Papers. He is not mentioned by a Chickasaw missionary who arrived in the nation on May 19, 1799.
39. Dawson A. Phelps, ed., "Excerpts from the Journal of the Reverend Joseph Bullen", THE JOURNAL OF MISSISSIPPI HISTORY, XVII, p. 261.
40. Ibid., p. 263.
41. Ibid., p. 270.
42. Ibid., p. 271.
43. Ibid., p. 273.
44. Ibid., pp. 271, 274. Bullen noted that Gunn "reads abundantly in the Bible, and Doddridges Rise and Progress and other books". See also Declaration of James Gunn, 1816, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace Parkway.
45. Ibid., p. 275.
46. Ibid., p. 277.
47. Ibid., p. 278.
48. Minutes of a Conference with the Chickasaw Indians, October, 1801, ASPIA, I, pp. 651-652.
49. Ibid., p. 652.
50. Wilkinson to Dearborn, October 27, 1801, Ibid., p. 653.
51. Dearborn to Robertson and Dinsmore, March 20, 1805, Ibid., p. 700.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. "Bargain between Wm. Colbert and John Gordon for Duck River", February 4, 1804, photostat Natchez Trace Parkway. This compact was apparently a revision of one first entered into in 1802.
55. Major George Colbert et al to Robertson, January 25, 1805, Robertson Papers.
56. Minutes of a Conference with the Chickasaw Indians, July 6-July 25, 1805, OIA, photostat Natchez Trace Parkway.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Chickasaw Treaty of July 23, 1805, in Charles J. Kappler, ed., INDIAN AFFAIRS, LAWS, AND TREATIES (Washington:1903-1929), II, pp. 79-80.
60. Cherokee Treaty of Tellico Blockhouse, October 25, 1805, Ibid., pp. 80-81.
61. Jesse D. Jennings, ed., "Nutt's Trip to the Chickasaw Country", THE JOURNAL OF MISSISSIPPI HISTORY, IX, p. 48.
62. Ibid., p. 56.
63. Ibid., p. 55.

Chapter III

1. NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY SURVEY, Senate Document No. 148, 76th Cong., 3rd Session (Washington:1941), p. 72.
2. Dearborn to Robertson et al, February 27, 1806, Robertson Papers. George Colbert had already received \$432.00.
3. Jennings, p. 44.
4. George and Levi Colbert to Robertson and Meigs, June 23, 1806, in Phelps, "Colbert Ferry", THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, 1963, pp. 218-220.
5. Meigs and Robertson to Secretary of War, June 30, 1806, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
6. NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY SURVEY, p.73.
7. Frank R. King Notes, Natchez Trace.
8. Journal of Robertson and Dinsmore, July, 1805, OIA, photostat Natchez Trace.
9. Meigs to Dearborn, March 1, 1809, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
10. Blount to Robertson, April 26, 1795, Robertson Papers.
11. NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY SURVEY, p.71.
12. Johnathan Daniels, THE DEVIL'S BACKBONE:THE STORY OF THE NATCHEZ TRACE (New York:1962), pp. 140-141. See also John G. Jones, METHODISM IN MISSISSIPPI (Nashville:1887), I, pp.193-195.
13. J.G.M. Ramsey, THE ANNALS OF TENNESSEE (Philadelphia:1853), p. 580.
14. Van Every, ARK OF EMPIRE, pp. 151-154.
15. Ibid., p.154.
16. Ibid.; see also Thurman Wilkins, CHEROKEE TRAGEDY:THE STORY OF THE RIDGE FAMILY AND OF THE DECIMATION OF A PEOPLE (New York:1970), pp. 35-38.
17. Itinerary of George S. Gaines, 1811, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
18. "Stands Along the Natchez Trace", undated mss, Natchez Trace.
19. ROADS:HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON ROADS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington:1934), p.9.
20. Andrew Jackson, Military Account Book, January 7, 1813-September 30, 1815, in NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY SURVEY, p. 72.
21. Muster Roll of Chickasaw Troops, October 1, 1813-May 31, 1814, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
22. Robertson to Secretary of War, April 30, 1814, cited in NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY SURVEY, p. 85.
23. Muster Roll of Chickasaw Troops, 1812-1814, OIA, typescript Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.
24. Declaration of Joseph Colbert, 1859, Bounty Files, War Department, photostat Natchez Trace.
25. Jackson, Military Account Book, NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY SURVEY, p.72.
26. James Colbert et al to the President, September 9, 1814, Ibid., p.56.
27. Harriet C. Owsley, ed., "Travel through the Indian Country in the Early 1800s: Memories of Martha Phillips Martin", TENNESSEE HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, 1962, pp. 66-81.
28. Jackson, Military Account Book, NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY SURVEY, p. 72.
29. King to Levi Colbert, February 7, 1815, Ibid., p.86.
30. William Cocke to Secretary of War, March 2, 1815, Ibid., p.87.
31. John M. Barrett to Cocke, October 11, 1816, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.

32. Cocke to Calhoun, April 25, 1816, Ibid.; Cocke to Crawford, September 22, 1816, Ibid.
33. Cocke to Crawford, July 20, 1816, Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Bruce C. Oakley Jr., A POSTAL HISTORY OF MISSISSIPPI: THE STAMP-LESS PERIOD, 1799-1860 (Baldwyn: 1969), p. 15.
37. Wigton King to Secretary of War, December 8, 1828, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace; Thomas L. McKenney to Crittenden, January 29, 1829, Ibid.
38. Cocke to Secretary of War, September 22, 1816, Ibid.
39. Crawford to Commissioners, June 4, 1816, ASPIA, II, p. 100; Crawford to Commissioners, July 5, 1816, Ibid., p. 102.
40. Jackson to Hutchings, August 18, 1816, Ibid., p. 120.
41. Commissioners to Crawford, September 20, 1816, Ibid., p. 105.
42. Ibid., p. 104.
43. Ibid., p. 105.
44. Chickasaw Treaty of 1818, in affirming the 1816 gift to John McLish, mentioned "his having been raised in the state of Tennessee and marrying a white woman" (Kappler, II, pp. 174-177).
45. Crawford to Commissioners, July 5, 1816, ASPIA, II, p. 102.
46. Malcolm McGee et al to Calhoun, February 10, 1817, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
47. William Colbert, James Colbert and others to Calhoun, February 10, 1817, Ibid. William Cocke was the seventh man to serve in the capacity of United States agent to the Chickasaws during their Mississippi years. The men who served were James Robertson (1792-1797), Samuel Mitchell (1797-1805), William Hill (1806), Thomas Wright (1806-1809), James Neely (1809-1812), James Robertson (1812-1814), William Cocke (1814-1818), Henry Sherburne (1818-1820), Robert C. Nicholas (1820-1823), Benjamin F. Smith (1823-1830), Benjamin Reynolds (1830-1839). The tribe's agents after removal were Gaines P. Kingsbury (1837-1839), Arthur M.M. Upshaw (1839-1850), Gabriel W. Long (1850-1851), Kenton Harper (1851-1852), Andrew J. Smith (1852-1856), and Douglas H. Cooper (1856-1861).
48. Cocke went on to serve in the Mississippi Legislature as a delegate from Monroe County, created in 1816 out of the Chickasaw cession of lands east of the Tombigbee. There is little wonder that one of his first bills called for the immediate removal of his enemies, the Chickasaws, from Mississippi (George W. Howell, "Monroe County and Her People, to February 9, 1821", NORTHEAST MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL JOURNAL, IV, pp. 42-43).
49. Calhoun to Jackson and Shelby, May 2, 1818, ASPIA, II, pp. 173-174.
50. Samuel Cole Williams, THE BEGINNINGS OF WEST TENNESSEE IN THE LANDS OF THE CHICKASAWS (Johnson City: 1930), p. 87.
51. James Colbert to Jackson, July 17, 1818, ASPIA, II, pp. 102-103.
52. Jackson to Calhoun, August 18, 1818, Ibid., p. 179; Sherburne to Calhoun, July 29, 1818, Ibid., p. 178.
53. Chickasaw Census of 1818, in File X, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.
54. Letter of Thomas C. Stuart, September 7, 1861, in Edmund T. Winston, FATHER STUART AND THE MONROE MISSION (Meridian: 1927), p. 91.

55. Samuel Mitchell to William C.C. Claiborne, August 15, 1803, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace. Thomas Love was appointed executor of McIntosh's estate (Endorsement of Samuel Mitchell of appointment of Thomas Love executor of estate of John McIntosh, October 13, 1803, in Dunbar Rowland, ed., FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY, p. 39).
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid. "It appears that John McIntosh lately deceased was a natural son of John McIntosh the agent for his Britannic Majesty, as such he can have no legal heir" (Cato West to Samuel Mitchell, October 24, 1804, mss Mississippi Department of Archives and History).
58. Daniels, pp. 130-132. Mitchell's wife, Molly, was a daughter of Choctaw trader Nathaniel Folsom (1756-1833) and was a sister to chief David Folsom (1791-1847). After his tenure as Chickasaw agent, Mitchell returned to the Choctaw country, where he operated an inn on the Natchez Trace from 1815 to 1822.
59. Simon Burney seems to have emigrated from the Natchez District. In July, 1782, he and halfbreed Jack Dunford were commissioned by the Chickasaws to carry a peace talk to the Cumberland settlements (Talk of George Colbert, July, 1805, in Journal of Commissioners, OIA, photostat Natchez Trace).
60. Pitman Colbert or "Sam B. Colbert" to Return J. Meigs, December 26, 1806, OIA, photostat Natchez Trace. see also Grant Foreman, THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES (Norman: 1934), p. 102.
61. Article V, Chickasaw Treaty of October 19, 1818, Kappler, II, pp. 174-177; John L. Allen to Secretary of War, October 19, 1829, OIA, Microfilm Series M-234, Record Group 75, Roll 135. These microfilms are available from the National Archives.
62. Pitman Colbert to Lewis Cass, written at Tuscumbia, February 17, 1836, OIA, Roll 137; Journal of Proceedings at Franklin, Tennessee, August 23-September 1, 1830, OIA, photostat Natchez Trace.
63. Fisher v. Allen, April, 1837, term of the Mississippi High Court of Errors and Appeals, in Howard's MISSISSIPPI REPORTS, II, p. 613.
64. Foreman, A TRAVELER IN INDIAN TERRITORY: THE JOURNAL OF ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK (Cedar Rapids: 1930), pp. 168, 196, 200.
65. Charity Allen, a daughter of Levi Colbert, stated in 1853 that Levi had twenty-one heirs (Benjamin S. Love to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 1, 1853, OIA, Roll 141). Josiah N. Walton, who knew Levi, stated that Levi had a wife and twenty children (Howell, p. 17).
66. John L. Allen to Cocke, April 28, 1816, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace; John L. Allen to McKenney, October 16, 1829, OIA, Roll 135.
67. Josiah N. Walton to Lyman C. Draper, June 25, 1882, in W.A. EVANS SCRAPBOOK, Evans Memorial Library, Aberdeen, Mississippi, p. 10.
68. Journal of Commissioners, September 29-October 19, 1818, in Williams, BEGINNINGS OF WEST TENNESSEE, pp. 291-297.
69. Ibid., pp. 296-297; see also John Spencer Bassett, ed., THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ANDREW JACKSON (Washington: 1927-1929), II, p. 388.
70. Treaty of Oldtown, October 19, 1818, Kappler, II, pp. 174-177.
71. Williams, BEGINNINGS OF WEST TENNESSEE, p. 103.

Chapter IV

1. Dawson A. Phelps, "The Chickasaw Mission", THE JOURNAL OF MISSISSIPPI HISTORY, XIII, pp. 226-235.
2. Winston, p. 71.
3. Phelps, "The Chickasaw Mission", passim.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Winston, passim.
7. Ibid.
8. Report of the conditions of the Chickasaw Missions, October, 1820, ASPIA, II, p. 277.
9. Thomas L. McKenney to Secretary of War, November, 1827, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
10. Report on Missions, 1825, ASPIA, II, p. 587.
11. Secretary of War to R.C. Nicholas, March 18, 1822, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
12. Eden Brashers to the Secretary of War, June 18, 1822, Ibid.
13. Smith to Calhoun, March 5, 1824, OIA, Roll 135.
14. Malbone to Calhoun, April 10, 1824, Ibid.; Malbone to Calhoun, May, 1824, Ibid.
15. McKenney to Malbone, May 5, 1824, Ibid.
16. Barr to Calhoun, June, 1824, Ibid. A fullblood Chickasaw was named after Barr (Winston, p. 70.).
17. Smith to McKenney, December 20, 1824, Ibid.
18. Articles of Agreement between Robert Wilson and Benjamin F. Smith at Natchez, Mississippi, April 6, 1825, Ibid.
19. Smith to Secretary of War, June 4, 1825, Ibid.
20. Smith to McKenney, June 10, 1825, Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid. Smith wrote that "Tishamingo, tho' a leading chief, is almost entirely under the controul of the Colberts". It is said that Tishomingo was born in 1736; he died of smallpox at Little Rock, Arkansas, on May 5, 1841.
23. Smith to McKenney, December 13, 1825, Ibid.
24. McKenney to Smith, January 10, 1826, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
25. Levi Colbert et al to Monroe, written at Washington, December 7, 1824, OIA, Roll 135.
26. ASPIA, II, p. 546.
27. John L. Allen to Secretary of War, February 7, 1830, OIA, Roll 136; Gabriel W. Long to McKenney, November 5, 1824, Ibid., Roll 135; McKenney to Secretary of War, October 10, 1827, Ibid.; Letter of Josiah N. Walton to Lyman C. Draper, June 25, 1882, EVANS SCRAP-BOOK, p. 10.
28. Secretary of War to Commissioners, May 24, 1826, ASPIA, II, p. 717.
29. Journal of Commissioners, October 15-November 2, 1826, Ibid., pp. 717-727.
30. Ibid.
31. Smith to S.S. Hamilton, May 5, 1827, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace; Hamilton to Smith, May 24, 1827, Ibid.
32. McKenney to Daugherty Colbert, April 3, 1827, Ibid.

33. Levi Colbert et al to McKenney, October 9, 1827, OIA, Roll 135; McKenney to Secretary of War, October 10, 1827, Ibid.
34. Smith to McKenney, November 7, 1827, Ibid.
35. John Bell to James Barbour, July 3, 1828, Ibid., citing the oaths of Bernard McLaughlin, Kilpatrick Carter, John Glover, John McLish, Mingo Puscus, George Colbert, James Colbert, and Richard J. Humphreys.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. McKenney to Secretary of War, August 27, 1828, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
39. McKenney to John Bell, April 17, 1828, Ibid.
40. Bell to McKenney, October 27, 1828, OIA, Roll 135.
41. Bell to Barbour, July 3, 1828, Ibid.
42. Secretary of War to Smith, March 17, 1829, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
43. Bell to McKenney, September 17, 1828, OIA, Roll 135. Levi Colbert had appointed Gideon Lincecum, Garland Lincecum, and Charles M. Hudspeth to escort the delegation west early in 1828; about the same time, Levi was informing McKenney that "I am well pleased with the arrangement you have made for the benefit of my son Daugherty", evidently referring to McKenney's placement of the lad in the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky (Colbert to McKenney, January 23, 1828, Ibid.).
44. Bell to McKenney, July 22, 1828, Ibid.; Bell to McKenney, October 28, 1828, Ibid.; Levi Colbert et al to John H. Eaton, June 15, 1829, Ibid.
45. Smith to Secretary of War, June 27, 1829, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
46. John L. Allen to Secretary of War, October 19, 1829, OIA, Roll 135; Levi Colbert et al to Jackson, November 14, 1829, Ibid.
47. Legislative Act of February 4, 1829, in A. Hutchinson, ed., MISSISSIPPI LAWS AND STATUTES (Jackson:1848), p. 135.
48. Legislative Act of January 28, 1830, Ibid., p. 136.
49. Eaton to Reynolds, June 28, 1830, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
50. Minutes of a Conference with the Chickasaw Indians, Franklin, Tennessee, August 19-September 1, 1830, OIA, photostat Natchez Trace.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. McKenney to Eaton, June 27, 1829, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace.
54. Deed of Ebijah, Logan, and Nuzeka Colbert to "our beloved uncle", James Colbert, November 9, 1830, Deed Book 3, p. 207, Monroe County Chancery Clerk's Office, Aberdeen, Mississippi.
55. Declaration of Nellie Bratton, age 35, July 12, 1855, Bounty Land File, Department of War, "Claim Rejected". "Says she is the widow of James Colbert, captain in the company under Major George Colbert, Chickasaw. That he (James) volunteered at Hoolkey in the Chickasaw Nation, Miss., about 1 March 1813". Witnessed by Henry Frazier, Ah-ha-tum-cubby, and A.J. Smith. photostat Natchez Trace.
56. John A. Bynum was very probably born in the Halifax District of Halifax County, North Carolina, about 1790, the son of a Revolution-

- ary War veteran named Colonel Turner Bynum. In the early 1840s, relatives named Turner Bynum, Joseph Bynum, and Gray Bynum settled in present Alcorn County, Mississippi. Descendants still live there. For Susan Miller Colbert's marriage to L.M. James, see John Bell and Robert Gordon to Jackson, February 10, 1832, OIA, Roll 136.
57. Winston, p. 86.
 58. John L. Allen to John H. Eaton, October 23, 1830, OIA, Roll 136.
 59. Grant Foreman, INDIAN REMOVAL (Norman:1953), pp. 33-37.
 60. Ibid., p. 37.
 61. Reynolds and George S. Gaines to Eaton, February 9, 1831, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace; Eaton to Jackson, March 31, 1831, Ibid.; Levi Colbert et al to Jackson, May 28, 1831, OIA, Roll 136. The sixteen members of this exploring delegation were Levi Colbert, George Colbert, Tishomingo, Ishtohotopah, William McGillivray, Samuel Sealy, Mingo Puscus, James Brown, Isaac Albertson, Thomas Sealy, Jackson Kemp, John McLish, John Glover, Pitman Colbert, Captain Sam McGee, and Henry Love.
 62. Jackson to Coffee and Eaton, October 18, 1831, OIA, typescript Natchez Trace; Jackson to Eaton and Coffee, October 21, 1831, Ibid.; Jackson to Eaton and Coffee, January 12, 1832, Ibid.
 63. John Coffee to Lewis Cass, October 26, 1832, Ibid.
 64. First Draft, Treaty of Pontitock Creek, September 24, 1832, Ibid. The Journal of these proceedings has been lost. Coffee sent it to Lewis Cass on November 12, 1832. Elbert Herring returned it to Eaton and Coffee on January 16, 1833.
 65. Treaty of Pontotoc, October 20, 1832, Kappler, II, pp. 356-364.
 66. Levi Colbert et al to Jackson, November 22, 1832, OIA, Roll 136. Levi declared that the negotiations were held while he was too ill to attend, but his name is on the treaty as a signer.
 67. Declaration of George Colbert, June 2, 1833, Ibid.; Declaration of Levi Colbert, June 2, 1833, Ibid.; Declaration of Tahumba, June 2, 1833, Ibid.; Declaration of Samuel Sealy, June 2, 1833, Ibid.
 68. John L. Allen to Herring, October 3, 1833, Ibid.
 69. Foreman, INDIAN REMOVAL, p. 199.
 70. Levi Colbert to Jackson, written at the Chickasaw Agency, March 31, 1834, OIA, Roll 136.
 71. Treaty of May 24, 1834, Kappler, II, pp. 418-425.
 72. Benjamin Reynolds to Elbert Herring, June 2, 1834, cited in a letter from Jane Wegener, a descendant of Levi Colbert, to author on August 25, 1967.
 73. Josiah N. Walton to Lyman C. Draper, June 25, 1882, EVANS SCRAPBOOK, p. 10.
 74. Letters of Administration to Kilpatrick Carter and Alexander Colbert, June 26, 1834, in INVENTORY, PROBATE COURT, Book One, p. 268, Monroe County Chancery Clerk's Office, Aberdeen, Mississippi.
 75. Ibid.

Chapter V

1. George Colbert et al to Jackson, August 24, 1834, OIA, Roll 136.
2. Foreman, INDIAN REMOVAL, p. 202.
3. Oakley, pp. 77, 216. A post office was located at Colbert in Lowndes County, Mississippi, on March 24, 1838. It was located in the vicinity of Waverly, once the home of Choctaw interpreter John Pitchlynn (Oakley, p. 82).
4. Henry M. Lusher, MAP OF LANDS CEDED BY THE CHICKASAW INDIANS BY THE TREATIES OF 1832 AND 1834, prepared 1835. Approved by John Bell, Surveyor-General for the State of Mississippi, and Benjamin Reynolds, Chickasaw Agent. Photostat Natchez Trace.
5. Diary of Edward Fontaine, mss Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University, Mississippi State, Mississippi.
6. Abstracts of the Locations of Land, OIA, Rolls 145-148. Corresponding deeds and patents are recorded in the Chancery Clerks' offices in the counties of Chickasaw, Tippah, Marshall, DeSoto, Tishomingo, Lafayette, Pontotoc, and Monroe. The records of Colbert County, Alabama, were burned during the Civil War.
7. Treaty of Doaksville, January 17, 1837, Kappler, II, pp. 486-488.
8. Pitman Colbert et al to Jackson, February 17, 1837, OIA, Roll 137.
9. B.F. Butler to Upshaw, March 9, 1837, Ibid.
10. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Upshaw, April 15, 1837, Ibid.
11. Foreman, A TRAVELER IN INDIAN TERRITORY, p. 228f. The Chickasaws, whose costs of removal were to come out of the proceeds of the land sales, were apparently bilked out of large sums. The sale of the unallotted lands brought \$3,300,000. The cost of the removal, for rations and steamboat passage, came to \$1,500,000, including the payment of \$150,000 to one contractor for transporting 3001 Chickasaws by boat (Arrell M. Gibson, THE CHICKASAWS (Norman:1971), pp. 164, 181-183).
12. Muster Roll of Chickasaws, made in Mississippi in the fall of 1837, OIA, Roll .
13. Ethan Allen Hitchcock to J.C. Spencer, March 8, 1842, in Foreman, A TRAVELER IN INDIAN TERRITORY, pp. 252-253.
14. John E. Parsons, ed., "Letters on the Chickasaw Removal of 1837", NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY, XXXVIII, p. 280.
15. Upshaw to Crawford, February 23, 1839, OIA, Roll 144.
16. James Colbert to William Armstrong, written at Boggy, February 17, 1839, Ibid.
17. Petition of Lemuel Colbert et al to the President, October 5, 1839, Ibid.
18. Census of Chickasaw Indians, made in the Indian Territory, August-October, 1839, OIA.
19. Ibid. see also Pitman Colbert to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1848, in Chickasaw Nation Records, Bound Volumes, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, and William C. Clarke to Medill, February 14, 1849, Ibid.
20. Muster Roll of Whites and Slaves to meet September 1, 1840, to go West with Colonel Benjamin Love, OIA, Roll 144.

21. Muster Roll of Chickasaws Arriving in the Indian Territory, January 10, 1841, included in a letter from Armstrong to Crawford, April 22, 1842, Ibid.
22. Muster Roll of Chickasaws Arriving in the Indian Territory, December, 1842, Ibid. James Colbert Jr. was one of several Chickasaws listed as "Permanently Settled" on land in Mississippi in 1840, along with Henry Love, Isaac Love, Frances Moore, and Pamela Reynolds (Ibid., Roll 146). On July 29, 1842, he, Charles F. Eastman, and L.M. James, writing from Holly Springs, asked for money with which to emigrate. James Colbert Jr. wrote on August 1, 1842, that he would take \$30 a head for emigrants transported by him, as had George and Pitman Colbert (Ibid., Roll 144).
23. Muster Roll of Chickasaws Arriving in the Indian Territory, Aug. 1843, Ibid.
24. Muster Roll of Chickasaws Arriving in the Indian Territory in the year 1844, Ibid.
25. Muster Roll of Chickasaws Arriving in the Indian Territory in 1846, Ibid.
26. Foreman, A TRAVELER IN INDIAN TERRITORY, pp. 175, 190.
27. "Extract of a letter from an officer in the U.S. Army, dated Fort Towson, (Ark.) Nov. 7, 1839", in THE ARMY AND NAVY CHRONICLE, January 10, 1840.
28. Declaration of Benjamin Love, made at Oxford, Mississippi, April, 1840, recorded in Probate Book One, Lafayette County, Mississippi.
29. Upshaw to Medill, May 3, 1848, OIA, Roll 139; Robert M. Jones to Colonel S.M. Rutherford, May 25, 1848, Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Upshaw to Crawford, July 2, 1842, Ibid., Roll 138. The Declaration of Nellie Bratton, July 12, 1855, Bounty Land File, Department of War, "Claim Rejected", photostat Natchez Trace, has a note at the bottom that says "James Colbert died about 1843 leaving Nelly a widow who had a son George 12 days after his death. Nelly is now the wife of Bratton and makes her home...(torn)".
32. Wyatt Christian, a Holly Springs physician, presented a claim for \$418.40 for medical services rendered Martin Colbert. see FINAL RECORD, PROBATE COURT, 1836-1843, II, p. 246, Marshall County Chancery Clerk's Office, Holly Springs, Mississippi.
33. Inventory of Estate, Martin Colbert, deceased, December 31, 1840, Ibid., I, pp. 261-265.
34. Division of Estate, Martin Colbert deceased, February 5, 1842, Ibid., II, pp. 329-330.
35. Declaration of Joseph Colbert, age 24, a resident of Pontotoc County, Chickasaw Nation, I.T., September 24, 1859, Bounty Land File, War Department, photostat Natchez Trace. He says he is an heir of William Colbert Jr., deceased, and that he and his sister, Tennessee, age 23, are the only heirs; see also his declarations of February 13, 1852, made in Perry County, C.N., and September 21, 1859, Ibid.
36. Ibid.

37. Inventory of notes and due estate of Thomas Colbert, deceased, by James Colbert Jr., administrator, February 5, 1842, Marshall County Chancery Clerk's Office, Holly Springs, Mississippi.
38. Upshaw to Crawford, July 2, 1842, OIA, Roll 138. William S. Williams applied for letters of administration for Charles Colbert's estate in December, 1841 (FINAL RECORD, PROBATE COURT, II, p. 250, DeSoto County Chancery Clerk's Office, Hernando, Mississippi). see also Affidavit of Mississippi Juzan, "formerly Mississippi Colbert", October 15, 1845, re the estate of Charles Colbert for her daughter, Rebecca Colbert (OIA, Roll 139).
39. Estate Notice, September 27, 1837, Pontotoc County Chancery Clerk's Office, Pontotoc County, Mississippi.
40. Estate Notice of Simon Burney, April 9, 1842, Marshall County Chancery Clerk's Office. David Burney, Benjamin Love, Henry Love, and James Colbert Jr. were named administrators. see also Petition of Margaret and David Burney, December 28, 1843, in INVENTORY, PROBATE COURT, II, pp. 165-166, Monroe County Chancery Clerk's Office, Aberdeen, Mississippi.
41. Ibid. James Colbert Jr. was also about this time involved in the estate of John B. Moore of Holly Springs. Moore, who died early in 1840, had written a will on September 26, 1839, providing for his wife, Delilah; and his children--Caroline (wife of James Colbert), Harriet (wife of Burton Willis), Colbert, Eliza (wife of Pleasant Mosby), John Jr., George Clendenen, Martha Jane, and Mary (wife of John Byrd). Delilah Moore, Colbert Moore, and Leander W. Guy were named executors. Benjamin Love became guardian of George and Martha Jane Moore. Will Book One, Marshall County, Mississippi, p. 251. James Colbert Jr. bought three plows, a log chain, and a rifle for \$23.00 at Moore's estate sale on Saturday, January 29, 1842.
42. Commissioners to Secretary of War, February 8, 1844, OIA, Roll 139.
43. Upshaw to Crawford, July 2, 1838, Ibid., Roll 138.
44. Armstrong to Secretary of War, June 10, 1845, Ibid., Roll 139.
45. Chiefs to Crawford, July 22, 1845, Ibid.
46. Armstrong to Harris, June 29, 1838, Ibid., Roll 138.
47. Isaac Albertson et al to Harris, February 1, 1839, Ibid.
48. Chiefs to Armstrong, February 15, 1839, Ibid.
49. Chiefs to the President, August 12, 1840, Ibid.
50. Chiefs to Bell, May 30, 1841, Ibid.
51. Upshaw to Armstrong, August 25, 1842, Ibid.
52. Census of the Chickasaw Indians, made in the Indian Territory, 1847, OIA.
53. Pitman Colbert to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 25, 1848, Ibid., Roll 139.
54. "His appearance is very prepossessing", wrote Holmes' principal. "I find on examination, that he has not studied any Greek, and very little Mathematics, altho he has made more proficiency in Latin" (Wilson to Medill, May 8, 1848, Ibid.). Holmes' father, James Colbert Jr., writing from Boggy on May 25, 1848, notified his cousin, Pitman Colbert, that "Your family is all well, crops generally look very promising".

55. Acts of the Chickasaw National Council, January 7, 1847, Ibid.
56. Act of the Chickasaw National Council, July 4, 1849, Ibid.
57. Upshaw to Brown, July 5, 1849, Ibid.; Edmond Pickens and R.N. Nail to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, August 12, 1849, Ibid.
58. Gabriel W. Long to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1850, Ibid., Roll 140. Long, himself a member of the Colbert clan through his marriage to E.F. McLish, daughter of John McLish, had served as the deputy agent to the Chickasaws in 1824. He was appointed Chickasaw agent late in 1849, but remarried at Tuscumbia, Alabama, before reporting to his post in January, 1850. He resigned the next year due to illness, but remained as deputy agent. Even that was too much for his health, and he soon moved to New Orleans, where he died in the spring of 1853.
59. E.E. Christian, "Memories of My Childhood", Foreman Collection, Indian-Pioneer History, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.
60. Foreman, A TRAVELER IN INDIAN TERRITORY, p. 183.

Chapter VI

1. John Bartlett Meserve, "Governor Daugherty (Winchester) Colbert", THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA, XVIII, pp. 348-356. There is an abundance of information testifying to the separate entities of Daugherty Colbert and Winchester Colbert. Only Winchester is listed on the 1818 census, as a member of Major James Colbert's clan. Both Winchester and Daugherty owed money to the estate of James A. Blanton in Pontotoc County, Mississippi, in 1838--"Winchester" owing \$14.63, "Dority" owing \$62.75. Both of these debts were considered by Blanton's administrators as "not good & the collection of them very doubtful". Winchester is listed on the 1837 muster roll and the 1839 census, the latter made in Indian Territory. Daugherty did not emigrate until 1842. Only Daugherty signed a deed made on November 18, 1841, by the heirs of Levi Colbert. Both were on hand at various functions in the 1840s and 1850s. Both are listed on the 1847 census. Winchester's line is found on Chickasaw Enrollment Card 4, Daugherty's on Card 301.
2. Jury Tickets, 1857-1866, Chickasaw Nation Records, Bound Volumes, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.
3. Resolution of the Chickasaw Legislature, May 25, 1861, Ibid.
4. Treaty of North Fork, July 12, 1861, in THE WAR OF THE REBELLION, (Washington:1880-1900), Series I, Volume III, p. 593.
5. Meserve, p. 349.
6. Gibson, p. 248.
7. Meserve, p. 356.
8. Meserve, "Governor Cyrus Harris", THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA, XV, p. 385.

9. Meserve, "Governor William M. Guy", CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA, XIX, pp. 10-13.
10. Meserve, "Colbert Ferry on the Red River, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory: Recollections of John Malcolm", THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA, XVI, pp. 302-314.
11. List of Chickasaws hiring White Men as Overseers, 1867-1868, Chickasaw Nation Records, Bound Volumes, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.
12. Victor E. Harlow, OKLAHOMA HISTORY (Oklahoma City:1961), pp. 244-258; Treaty of Washington, April 28, 1866, Kappler, II, pp. 918-931.
13. Joel Kemp's will was verbally made on June 17, 1874 (Chickasaw Estates and Guardianships, Tishomingo County, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society). In October, 1876, the heirs of Joel Kemp were defendants in a suit filed by C.F. Kemp, "Alias O'Neal, formerly the wife of the late Joel Kemp, deceased". The Panola County Circuit Court decided in favor of the defendants, who were led by Mariah Colbert Kemp. C.F. Kemp then carried the case to the Chickasaw Supreme Court, where the lower court decision was upheld in April, 1877 (Attorney General's Report, Chickasaw Nation Records, Bound Volumes, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society). Simon B. Kemp, a son of Joel, ran the Red River ferry at the "old Joel Kemp place", present Kemp, Oklahoma, in the late 1880s.
14. Chickasaw Nation Records, Bound Volumes, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.
15. Ibid.
16. Humphrey Colbert to B.F. Overton, September 28, 1881, Attorney General's Report for 1881, Ibid.
17. Maurice Kildare, "Kiamichi Warrior's Gold", FRONTIER TIMES (January, 1972), pp. 11-12, 52-53.
18. Grant Foreman, Indian-Pioneer History, Bound Volumes, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society. This account of the life of the Chickasaws during the postwar era is taken from many of the interviews in the Foreman collection.
19. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1874.
20. Ibid., 1877 report.
21. Ibid., reports for 1876, 1877, 1880.
22. Ibid., report for 1882.
23. Ibid., report for 1886.
24. Meserve, "Governor William Leander Byrd", CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA, XII, pp. 432-443; Meserve, "Governor William M. Guy", Ibid., XIX, pp. 10-13.
25. Meserve, "Byrd", pp. 432-443.
26. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1892.

1
1
1
2
1
1
1
1
1
1
1
1
1
3
2
1
6
2
2
2
4
5
4
4
3
5
5
3
1
1
20
1
1
1
1
4
1
3
1
1
2
1
1
1
1
10
31

Appendix A

Inventory of Martin Colbert's estate, DeSoto County,
Mississippi, appraised December 31, 1840, with values
of property shown

1 brown horse with blaze face	\$75.00	3 pr hand vise	\$1.50
1 sorrell horse	50.00	8 gun locks	4.00
1 gray mare with bell	45.00	9 pr horse fleen	1.00
2 gray colts, aged 1 yr, 2yr.	70.00	9 pr door latches	2.25
1 black mule	80.00	6 pt door hinges	1.50
1 sorrell horse, one yr. old	10.00	1 handsaw & two	
1 bay horse	15.00	desk locks	.25
1 sorrell horse	10.00	1 spectacle case	.25
1 roan stallion	50.00	2 pr razors	.06
1 brown cow & calf	12.00	10 pr little wheel	
1 red cow & calf	10.00	spindles	1.00
1 red cow & calf	10.00	3 bu. (illegible)	.18
3 oxen	70.00	1 pr hand bellows	.50
2 oxen	10.00	1 reap hook	.37
1 wagon & thru log chains	40.00	1 trunk & 42 brushes	5.00
6 turning plows	24.00	1 pr small seals	.12
2 plows	5.00	1 candlestick & pr.	
2 Bearshears & 1 cutter	2.00	snuffers	.31
2 harrows & shocks	5.00	8 large pocketbooks	8.00
4 singletrees and 1 doubletree	2.00	1 bed & stead	10.00
5 pr harness & traces	7.50	1 side saddle	20.00
4 clevises	2.00	cotton receipts on	
4 sithye blades, 3 cutting knives	10.00	Walker & Anderson for	
3 pr steel guards	5.00	12 bales weighing	
5 trowels	4.00	5, 295 pounds	508.23
5 currying knives	20.00		
3 pr frows	50.00	4 looking glasses	4.00
1 pr hand bellows	.50	1 bedstead	4.00
1 lot tin wire	3.00	1 chest	2.00
20 cork ink?	.50	2 trunks	6.00
1 whipsaw & broadax	12.00	1 barrel	2.50
1 milk pail	.50	6 chains & set of	
1 brace sithye	1.00	cast irons	2.50
4 planes	5.00	1 shotgun	1.00
1 remnant of keg of nails	1.50	1 rifle	4.00
3 grubbing hoes	1.50	1 loom & harness	5.00
1 set of carriage wheels	6.50	1 pistol	5.00
1 box of beads, a bushel	10.00	1 brace & 2 bits	1.50
2 pr andirons	6.00	1 rifle	30.00
1 case of bottles	3.00	1 cupboard	15.00
1 pr hand bellows	.50	6 chains	2.50
1 large door lock	1.50	1 stable	1.00
10 candlesticks	1.25	1 check reel	1.50
31 plane bits	5.50	1 bedstead	5.00

1 trunk	\$ 1.50
1 bedstead	5.00
2 trunks	1.50
2 looking glasses	2.00
1 loom & harness	8.00
1 pr andirons & a smoothing iron	1.25
5 falling axes	4.00
1 iron wedge	.75
1 pr saddle bags	2.00
1 weedinghoe & iron wedge	1.00
8 sacks fodder	48.00
3 sacks oats	18.00
1 small scru auger	.25
1 sythe & cradle	1.50
1 singletree	.75
7 weedinghoes	.50
1 frow	.50
1 falling ax	.50
2 pots	2.00
3 ovens	1.50
1 washing tub	.75

slaves

Caesar	\$650.00
Washington	700.00
London	650.00
Tom	550.00
Robert	700.00
Augustus	500.00
Fanny	350.00
Judea	500.00
Lorenzo	250.00
Gattis	200.00
Sampson	100.00
Lucy	25.00
Mary	550.00
Jefferson	100.00

land

1 section (S25 T1S R9W)	\$8520.00
1 section (S26 T1S R9W)	6400.00
1 section (S27 T1S R9W)	5120.00
1 fractional section, 420 acres (S22 T1S R9W)	2940.00

1 iron wedge	\$.75
1 cane hoe & Barshar Plow	1.00
1 bull tonue plow & singletree	2.00
3 ovens	3.00
1 kettle & hooks	1.50
1 wash tub	1.50
1 case fine razors & strap	4.00
9 bottles	.50
1 handsaw	7.00
1 Ferry Boat	20.00
1 brown horse with white legs & face	40.00

Charlotte	\$ 50.00
Vicy	500.00
Airfy	150.00
David Fulsom	100.00
Susan	500.00
Luranza	100.00
Mariah	450.00
Lucinde	300.00
Nancy	250.00
Clary	.10
Levi	650.00
William	.10
Jack	25.00

Notes and Due Estate

1 \$20 bill on Union Bank of Mississippi
1 \$50 on Farmer's and Merchant's Bank of Memphis
1 \$25 on Commercial Bank of Vicksburg
1 \$ 2 on Ewing, King, and Company
1 \$10 on North Carolina
1 \$ 4 on Yateman and Woods of Tennessee

1 \$ 5 on Alabama	
1 \$70 on Brandon	
1 \$100 on Commercial Bank of Manchester	
1 \$20 on Planter's Bank of Mississippi	
1 \$10 on Tombigbee R.R.	
1 \$1.43 in species	
1 note on Morgan Pool	\$ 21.10
1 note on J.M. Boyd	15.00
1 note on Molly Gunn	20.00
1 note on Benj. Reynolds	44.87
1 note on Humphrey Piper	1.00
1 note on Jacob Jernigan	16.67
1 note on Thomas Harrison	14.67
1 note on Humphrey Piper	9.00
1 note on Thomas Harrison	14.67
1 note on Jacob Jernigan	16.67
1 note on Molly Gunn	35.00
1 account against Col. John Murray	50.75
1 note on Asa Jennings due 1 Apr 1838	55.00
1 note on Asa Jennings due 29 Jan 40	21.87
1 note on William Murray	52.89
1 note on Molly Gunn	5.00
1 note on Polly Allen	7.87
1 note on John Hain (Hair)	11.65

Total estate \$33,197.82

Set aside for widows and family:

Provisions for Sally A. Colbert & family, 12 in number

3000 lbs pork (11 hogs), 300 bushels corn, 2 sacks salt, 100 lbs coffee, 2 barrels of flour, 200 lbs sugar

Provisions for Lucy A. Colbert & family, 9 in number

2250 lbs pork (10 hogs), 225 bushels corn, 2 barrels of flour, 1 sack salt, 150 lbs sugar, 75 lbs coffee

Provisions for Sally O. Colbert & family, 8 in number

2000 lbs pork (10 hogs), 200 bushels corn, 1 sack salt, 2 barrels flour, 140 lbs sugar, 75 lbs coffee

(Signed)

Thomas P. Stone
Robert Atchinson
Fowler O'Guinn

December 31, 1840

Appendix B : The Colberts in Census Records

1. The 1818 Chickasaw census, made in Mississippi
Here are the names of all persons having English surnames. To the right of each name is the page number on the original census.

James Allen	29	Visa Colbert	28
Louisiana Allen	29	Sukey Colbert	28
Susannah Allen	29	George Colbert	29
Elisabeth Allen	29	Vina Colbert	29
George Allen	29	Jenny Colbert	29
Sarah Allen	29	Andrew Colbert	29
Alexander Allen	29	Pitman Colbert	33
Mississippi Allen	29	Levi Colbert	61
Simon Burney	28	Ishtemmarharlechar	
Peggy Burney	28	Colbert	61
Charlotte Burney	28	Lotty Colbert	61
Levi Burney	28	Kersey Colbert	61
John Brown	43	Lesila Colbert	61
Ishtemartley Brown	44	Dorothy Colbert	61
Mack Katonar Brown	44	Schtimmarshashoctay	
Shehomarlaychar		Colbert	62
Brown	44	Martin Colbert	62
James Brown	48	Alexander Colbert	62
Mrs. Brown	48	Dolley Colbert	62
Jensey Brown	48	Adam Colbert	62
Rhode Brown	48	Commodore Colbert	62
Tecumseh Brown	48	Abijah Colbert	62
Riley Brown	48	Mintahoyo Colbert	62
Dickson Brown	48	Charles Colbert	62
George Brown	48	Charity Colbert	62
Talhiharhar Brown	48	Lemuel Colbert	62
Shatlarkay Brown	48	Phyllis Colbert	62
Jack Bell	50	Asa Colbert	62
Cheagle	9	Munro Colbert	62
James Colbert	22	Shemartay Colbert	62
Susy Colbert	22	Robinson Colbert	62
Tennessee Colbert	22	Davis Colbert	62
Molsey Colbert	22	Lucy Colbert	62
Sukey Colbert	22	Braman Colbert	62
Josiah Colbert	22	Edmund Colbert	62
James Colbert	22	Elisa Colbert	62
Samuel Colbert	22	Amelia Colbert	62
Nancy Colbert	22	Molly Colbert	62
Winchester Colbert	22	Poniachar Colbert	62
Susy Perry Colbert	22	Joseph Perry Colbert	62
William James Colbert	22	Dase Colbert	62
Robert Colbert	22	Reuben Colbert	62
George Colbert	28	General William Colbert	63
Shelaechar Colbert	28	Ishtonarhay Colbert	63
John Colbert	28		

Tooklaishtubby Colbert	63	Isaac James	2
Ballarhubby Colbert	63	Charity James	2
Nossaecachubby Colbert	63	Visa James	2
Meharchubby Colbert	63	Lorhoyo James	2
Immarhollochettubby Colbert	63	Adam James	3
Logan Colbert	63	Vina James	3
Shemarhoyechar Colbert	63	Simon James	3
Wileky Colbert	63	George James	3
Schtimmarhoye Colbert	63	Isaac Jefferson	137
Onnarhoketay Colbert	63	Mrs. Jefferson	137
Apalartubby Colbert	63	Chaffer Jefferson	137
Nacknitubby Colbert	63	Sylphe Jefferson	137
Chinnumbee	65	Anne Jefferson	137
John Cammell	122	James Jefferson	137
Warsh Kinnay Cammell	122	Nisay Jefferson	137
Lanay Cammell	122	Ginsay Jefferson	137
Harry Fraser	15	Levi Kemp	14
Polly Fraser	15	Polly Kemp	14
Dickson Fraser	15	Jackson Kemp	14
Molly Fraser	22	Rhode Kemp	14
Jefferson Fraser	22	Elisa Kemp	14
Lucy Fraser	22	Eveline Kemp	14
Becca Fraser	22	John Kemp	14
Charlotte Fraser	22	Visey Kemp	14
Silay Fraser	22	Mrs. Kemp	14
Charles Fraser	29	Sarkeetan Kemp	14
John Gilchrist	10	William Kearney	44
Rachel Gilchrist	10	William Keel	94
Dobbin Gilchrist	10	Sinai Keel	95
James Gunn	21	Sibbee Keel	95
Molly Gunn	21	John Keel	96
Lissey Gunn	21	Thomas Love	29
Sally Gunn	21	Henry Love	29
Rhode Gunn	21	Isaac Love	29
James Gunn	21	Benjamin Love	29
Silas Gunn	21	Slone Love	29
William Glover	81	Nancy Love	29
Molly Glover	81	Thomas Love Jr.	29
Eensharkay Glover	81	Amanda Love	29
Carloshottahay Glover	81	Sarah Love	29
Immalthoye Glover	81	Elsvia Love	29
Tonarhay Glover	81	John Lewis	49
Ooklarcochubby Glover	81	Samuel Ligh	67
Marshemay Glover	81	Barney McLaughlan	20
Shakkatchayo Glover	81	Katy McLaughlan	20
Temullaiekay Glover	81	Edmund McLaughlan	20
Chikkalohe Glover	82	James McLaughlan	20
Carnocktubby Glover	82	Becca McLaughlan	20
Chomocktay Glover	82	Betsey McLaughlan	20
Chainsharhochtay Glover	82	Jacky McLaughlan	20
Yocarhontubby Glover	82	Aaron McLaughlan	20
Arnohoye Glover	82	Patrick McLaughlan	20
Chappaychar Glover	82	Malcolm McGee	21

Sam McGee	21	Meely Perry	28
Mrs. McIntosh	22	Tina Perry	28
Sally McCoy	22	Washington Perry	28
Liley Moore	30	Samuel Seely	1
Joseph G. Mitchell	30	Neely Seely	1
Catherine Moore	30	Shawnee Billy	3
Caroline Moore	30	James Seeley	4
Harriet Moore	30	Sinai Seeley	4
William McGilray	33	Becca Seeley	4
Sally McGilray	33	Carsey Seeley	4
Maitubby	35	Bill Seeley	4
John McClish	56	Jennett Seeley	4
George Pettygrove	2	Eliza Seeley	4
Elisa Pettygrove	2	Gilbert Seeley	4
Betty Pettygrove	2	Jerry Seeley	5
Stephen Pettygrove	2	Jennett Seeley	6
Nanny Pettygrove	2	Pallas Seeley	6
John Perry	15	Elsey Seeley	6
Piky Perry	15	Tom Seeley	6
Lydia Perry	15	Wilson Seeley	6
Billy Perry	19	Hetty Seeley	6
Isaac Perry	26	Hawkins Seeley	6
Amy Perry	26	Sylphe Seeley	6
James Perry	28	Susy Seeley	16
Lissey Perry	28	Sally Steward	148
William Perry	28	Jemima Steward	148
Jamison Perry	28	Rachel Steward	148
Rachel Perry	28	Jude Underwood	54
		Kasy Underwood	54

2. The 1837 Muster Roll of Chickasaws preparing to go west.

Isaac Albertson, Isaac Albertson Jr., Mrs. Aldridge, Archibald Alexander, Billy Barnett, William Barr, Robert Bell, Benson, Ahfitchah Brown, Henry Brown, Mrs. Bynum, Doct. Campbell, Eliza Cheadle, T.F. Cheadle, Chickasaw Billy, George Colbert, James Colbert, Mimey Colbert, Samuel Colbert, Thomas Colbert, Winchester Colbert, Christopher Columbus, Robert Coyle, Creek Billy, Mrs. Dyer, Jacob Foster, Ben Franklin, George Frazier, Henry Frazier, Stephen Frazier, Annah Gains, John Gains, Robert Gilchrist, Greenwood, Rhoda Gunn, Robert Hancock, Cyrus Harris, Captain Hays, Alexander Henry, James Hillhouse, R.J. Humphreys, Jackson, General Jackson, Catey James, William James, Adam Jimmy, Isaac Jimmy, Simon Jimmy, Vicy Jimmy, Johnson, William Kearney, George Keel, William Keel, Annice Kemp, Joel Kemp, Levi Kemp, Reuben Kemp, William Kemp, Alex Kinney, Lewis, Eli Lockley, Slone Love, R. McClure, Alexander McGee, Archibald McGee, William McGilvery, Jane Moore, Ned, Newberry, James Owens, Pallis Oxberry, Silas Oxberry, James Perry, Rufus Perry, Edmond Pickens, Ebenezer Seely, Jenny Seely, Jerry Seely, Josiah Seely, Neely Seely, Susan Seely, Tishomingo, George Thomas, Topulka, Molly Tubby, John Tuscumbia, George Washington, George Waters, Noah Watkins, Theodore Watkins, Billy Wellington, James Wolf, Molly Wolf, Mrs. Wilson Wolf.

3. The 1839 census of Chickasaws, made in the Indian Territory.

Captain Albertson, Isaac Albertson Jr., Ben Allen, William Barnett, George Brown, Henry Brown, Tecumseh Brown, John Burrows, Tennessee Bynum, James Cames, Evaline Cheadle, Thomas Cheadle, Chickasaw Nanubby, Abijah Colbert, Adam Colbert, Charles Colbert, Chersey Colbert, Commodore Colbert, David Colbert, Diana Colbert, George Colbert, Hetty Colbert, James Colbert, James Colbert, Joseph Colbert, Lemuel Colbert, Logan Colbert, Mimey Colbert, Mintahoyo Colbert, Morgan Colbert, Pitman Colbert, Ride Colbert, Robert Colbert, Thomas Colbert, Vicy Colbert, Winchester Colbert, Eliza Collins, Gilbert Collins, Nancy Collins, Arta Conley, Peggy Conley, James Cooper, Cortun, Robert Coyle, Mrs. Cravatt, Charles Cravatt, Christopher Columbus, James Davidson, Rachel Davis, Dickinson, Betsy Dunfrid, Nealle Dyer, Eastman, Widow Emmubby, Widow Factor, Charles Frazier, Dickson Frazier, Harry Frazier, Jackson Frazier, Stephen Frazier, Billy Fry, Jim Fry, Molly Fry, Nancy Fry, Sukey Fulsom, John Gains, Nancy Gains, James Gamble, Glover, James Glover, Robbin Gilcrease, Nat Graham, Rhoda Gunn, An Hancock, Robert Hancock, Robert Hancock Jr., Cyrus Harris, Daniel Harris, Thomas Hawkins, Alexander Henry, Jarvis Hillhouse, Billy Homer, Richard J. Humphreys, Immubby, Ishtohotopah, Jackson, Johnson, Ruth A. James, William James, Isaac Jefferson, William Jefferson, Adam Jimmy, Simon Jimmy, Vicy Jimmy, Susan Jones, Jack Kemp, Joel Kemp, Patsy Kemp, Reuben Kemp, Vicy Kemp, William Key, Billy Kyle, George Kyle, Blount Lewis, John Lewis, Lewis, Grant Linscome, Eli Lockley, Slone Love, James McCoy, Forbis McClure, Richard McClure, Alex McGee, Archibald McGee, Francis McGee, John McGilvery, William McGilvery, James McLothridge, McKerbey, Cath Ann McKinney, Delilah McKinney, Jesse McKinney, Viney McKinney, Joseph McIntosh, Mary McIntosh, Bernard McLaughlin, David McLish, James McLish, William McLish, James Moore, Eaton Nelson, Newberry, Oklanah Nubby, James Osborn, Richard Overton, Pallis Oxberry, James Parker, Adam Perry, Edmund Perry, Elizabeth Perry, Elizabeth Perry, Joseph Perry, Rufus Perry, Widow Perry, Mrs. Pettygrove, Edmund Pickens, E. Pitchlynn, H. Pitchlynn, Polish, Jim Porter, Ebenezer Sealy, Jerry Sealy, Jim Sealy, Jinney Sealy, Rebecca Sealy, Theodore Sealy, Tom Sealy, Wilson Sealy, John Strickland, Levi Thomas, Roberson Thomas, Topulka, John Tubby, Tupelo Tubby, Robert Turnbull, Joseph Tyler, Garry Underwood, Sally Underwood, Doran Watkins, Noah Watkins, William Warters, George Washington, Williamson, William Wellington, Willson, John Wilson, James Wolf, Woolka.

4. The 1847 Chickasaw census, made in the Indian Territory.

This census, made in the fall of 1847, shows whether the head of families were fullblood Chickasaws (FB), a white (FW), or some fraction white. Also shown, in parentheses, are the number of persons in the household and the number of slaves owned (0-0), in that order.

Molly Ainsworth $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-3), Captain Isaac Alberson $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-27), Isaac Alberson Jr. $\frac{1}{4}$ (2-11), Logan Alberson $\frac{1}{4}$ (3-1), Thomas Alexander FB (5-0),

George Allen $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-6), George W. Allen FB (3-3), Heirs of A.M. Allen $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-2), Nancy Allen FB (3-2), Rachel Allen $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-2), Morning Allen $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), John E. Anderson FB (7-1), Henry Bacon FW (7-3), Isabella Barnett FB (1-2), Benson $\frac{1}{4}$ (2-0), Thomas Benton FB (6-1), Thomas H. Benton FB (1-0), Wilson C. Brothers $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), Reuben Bourland $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-7), Nelly Bratton $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-5), A.V. Brown FB (4-0), Cannon Brown FB (4-1), Charley Brown FB (8-0), Lewis S. Brown FW (6-2), Tecumseh Brown $\frac{1}{4}$ (2-1), William Brown $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), John Bryant FB (5-0), David Burney $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-19), Tennessee Bynum $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-15), Turner Bynum $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-4), John Byrd $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-5), Carney FB (1-0), Arthur Carney $\frac{1}{4}$ (2-0), Sampson Carney FB (5-0), Colbert Carter $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-4), Mrs. Anna Cavender $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-0), Thomas F. Cheadle FW (4-7), Thomas F. Cheadle Jr. $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-5), Peter Coatney $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), Wyatt Coil $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), Abijah Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-1), Adam Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-0), Alfred Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-11), Benjamin Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-8), Doherty Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-5), David Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-3), James Colbert Jr. $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-38), Jane Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-5), Joseph Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Lafayette Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), Lemuel Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-14), Logan Colbert $\frac{1}{4}$ (2-1), McKinney Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-6), Molsey Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-8), Morgan Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-5), Nico Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-0), Major Pitman Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-98), Robert Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Robert Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (7-15), Samuel Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-33), Sarah Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-21), Shinhota Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (9-15), Susan Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-40), Winchester Colbert $\frac{1}{2}$ (13-4), Elzira Colvin $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-0), Charles Cravatt $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-0), Jefferson Cravatt $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), William Cravatt $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-0), Chickasaw Nanubby FB (4-8), Creek Billy FB (4-0), Daniel Davis $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-2), Joseph Davis $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-0), Mrs. Rachel Davis $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-7), John Duncan FB (3-2), John Duncan FB (1-0), Mrs. Mary Duncan $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), John Dunford FB (2-1), Jeremiah Dyer $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-6), A.T. Eastman FW (1-1), Elizabeth Eastman $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-15), Joseph Factor FB (6-16), Isaac Folsom $\frac{1}{2}$ (13-0), Sampson Folsom $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-7), Andrew Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-4), Anna Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), Charles Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-2), Dickson Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Elizabeth Frazier $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-0), George Frazier "deranged" $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), George Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Captain Jackson Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-2), John Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-5), Maxwell Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-7), Stephen Frazier $\frac{1}{4}$ (5-1), Wilson Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Wilson Frazier $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-1), J.T. Gains $\frac{1}{4}$ (5-10), Tecumseh Gains FB (3-11), James Gamble FB (8-1), Garland $\frac{1}{4}$ (3-0), Conaway Gilchrist $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-0), Arthur Gilchrist $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-0), Nelson Gilchrist $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-0), Rachel Gilchrist $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-0), Robin Gilchrist $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-0), Mrs. Martha Goforth $\frac{1}{4}$ (3-0), Jefferson Greenwood $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-6), John Guess $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-8), Molly Gunn $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Jane Guy $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-11), Robert Hancock $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Cyrus Harris $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-0), Mrs. Daniel Harris $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-17), Alexander Henry FB (7-0), Thomas Homer $\frac{1}{4}$ (4-0), James H. House "deranged" FB (5-0), Jim Huffman $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), R.J. Humphreys FW (6-13), Ishtohotopah FB (2-3), Adam James ($\frac{1}{4}$) (15-0), Booker James $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-4), Davis James $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-2), Fila James $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-2), Roberson James $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-3), Ruth A. James $\frac{1}{2}$ (7-2), Mrs. Lotty James $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-17), William James $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-2), Tecumseh Jefferson FB (2-5), Widow Jefferson $\frac{1}{4}$ (2-5), Elvira Jones $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-0), Susan Jones $\frac{1}{4}$ (3-145), Mississippi Juzan $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-11), Wilson Kearney $\frac{1}{4}$ (4-2), Jackson Kemp $\frac{1}{2}$ (9-52), Joel Kemp $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-6), Reuben Kemp $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), Sukey Kemp $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), William Kemp $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-0), Robert Leader FB (12-0), Captain Lewis FB (5-0), Elzira Lewis $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-1), George C. Lewis FB (2-0), Benjamin Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (7-37), Calvin S. Love $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-0), Gabriel S. Love $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-0), Heirs of H. Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-8), Hummahota Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-8), Isaac Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (10-97), John B. Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-8), Overton Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-9), Robert

Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), S.H. Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-2), Slone Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-45), William Love $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-1), Elick MaGee $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-0), Upman MaGee $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Vina MaGee $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), Captain Mahyahtubby FB (7-0), Benjamin Maytubby $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-0), Isom Maytubby $\frac{1}{4}$ "Sheunna" (9-3), James McCoy $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), William McCoy $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-8), Mrs. Malena McDonna $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-4), Amos McGee FB (2-0), Archibald McGee FB (12-0), John McGilvery $\frac{1}{4}$ (5-10), Frederick McKerbey $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-4), Edward McKinney $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Henry McKinney $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-1), Bernard McLaughlin FW (2-2), James McLaughlin $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-6), G.F. McLish $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-15), James N. McLish $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-6), Sally McLish $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-0), Sampson McLish $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), William McLish $\frac{1}{2}$ (7-2), Catherine Mitchell $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-3), James Miel $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-0), Tennessee Miller $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-1), Thomas Mitchell $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-32), Mrs. Isaac Moncrief $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-0), George Moore $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), John Moore $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-2), Martha Moore $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-2), Catherine Nelson $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-0), Mrs. E. Nelson "Ishtimahogo" $\frac{1}{4}$ (4-1), Rachel Newberry $\frac{1}{4}$ (9-2), William Newberry $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-4), Benjamin F. Overton $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-2), Amy Oxberry FB (5-0), Jemima Parker $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-3), William Parker FB (4-3), Mrs. Edmund Pickens FB (4-3), Adam Perry $\frac{1}{2}$ (9-0), Edmund Perry $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-2), Elizabeth Perry $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-6), Widow Elizabeth Perry $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-41), Isaac Perry $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-3), James Perry $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-5), Captain John Perry $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-21), Johnson Perry $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-4), Morgan Perry $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-1), Rogers Perry $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-4), Stephen Perry $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-2), Susan Perry FB (1-6), Ebenezer I. Pitchlynn $\frac{1}{4}$ (2-0), Hiram Pitchlynn $\frac{1}{4}$ (2-0), James K. Polk FB (3-0), Rhoda Potts $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-7), Horace Pratt $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-6), James Puttison FB (4-2), L.M. Reynolds $\frac{1}{2}$ (4-7), Pamela Reynolds $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-12), J.H. Rice FB (1-0), Mrs. Evaline Riddle $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-4), Betsy Saguine $\frac{1}{2}$ (6-2), Becca Sealy $\frac{1}{4}$ (3-0), Kahnaka Sealy FB (1-0), Levi Sealy $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-0), Morgan Sealy $\frac{1}{4}$ (5-4), Theodore Sealy FB (6-0), Thomas Sealy $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-1), Willey Sealy FB (4-4), Jimmy Sealy $\frac{1}{4}$ (2-0), Charles Shecco FB (1-2), Martin Shecco FB (5-5), Shulsey "old woman" FB (1-0), Bob Shuwaka FB (4-4), Mary Simonds $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-8), William Simpson $\frac{1}{4}$ (3-4), John R. Strickland FW (5-0), George Thomas $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Levi Thomas Sr. FW (6-1), Levi Thomas Jr. $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-0), Robertson Thomas $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), Topulka FB (1-0), Sarah Turnbull $\frac{1}{4}$ (1-0), Charlotte Tyson $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-7), Joseph Underwood FB (1-0), Noah Watkins FW (6-0), Theodore Watkins FW (5-1), Mrs. Susan Walner $\frac{1}{2}$ (1-4), George Washington FB (8-0), George Waters $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-0), William Wellington FB (7-0), Jim Wiley $\frac{1}{2}$ (5-0), J.H. Willis FW (8-18), R.B. Willis $\frac{1}{2}$ (2-5), James Wolf $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-6), Lila Wolf $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-0), Molly Wolf $\frac{1}{2}$ (3-0), Sally Wolf $\frac{1}{2}$ (8-1), Wilson Wolf $\frac{1}{4}$ (4-3).

4. The 1900 census of the Indian Territory-Colberts

Below is a listing of the Colberts found on the 1900 census of the Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek nations. Additional information may be found on the original census, Microcopy Group T-623, rolls 1846-1854.

Explanation of columns numbered here:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) year of birth (month appears on original) | (5) tribal affiliation |
| (2) place of birth | (6) father's tribe |
| (3) father's place of birth | (7) mother's tribe |
| (4) mother's place of birth | (8) fraction of white blood. 4/4 = full white. 0 = full blood Indian |

(9) location, given in township and range

Chi=Chickasaw. Cho=Choctaw. Cre=Creek. Che=Cherokee. IT=Indian Territory.

1900 Census

112

Name	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Joe E. Colbert	1857	IT	MS	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	3/4	T5N R1W CHI
Nora	1869 _w	IT	TX	AR	0	0	0	4/4	
Amie R.	1887 _d								
Nancy C.	1888 _d								
Henry T.	1891 _s								
Nettie M.	1894 _d								
Joe E.	1899 _s								
Joseph S. Myers	1855	TX	AR	AR	0	0	0	4/4	T4N R1W CHI
Eula	1870 _w	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	3/4	
(wd) Eliz. Colbert	1835	MS	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	7/8	(mother-in-law)
Mattie Y. Colbert	1864	TX	TN	MO	0	0	0	4/4	T5N R5W CHI
Velaria	1884 _d	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	0		
Cora E.	1886 _d								
Martin J.	1888 _s								
Ben F.	1889 _s								
Cecil C.	1890 _s								
Tolbert R.	1892 _s								
Mamie M.	1895 _s								
Henry Colbert	1876	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T3S R2E CHI
Irena	1880 _w				0	0	0	4/4	
Estella	1889 _d								
Lilly	1900 _d								
Wes Burney	1849	IT	MS	MS	Chi	***	Chi	1/2	Ardmore CHI
C.	1861 _w	GA	GA	GA	0	0	0	4/4	
Una	1885 _d								
Belle	1887 _d								
Blanche	1889 _d								
Wessie	1891 _s								
Clay B.	1894 _s								
Douglas J.	1899 _s								
Jessie	1881 _d								
Regan W. Jennings	1857	TX	TN	MO	0	0	0	4/4	T2S R1E CHI
Henrietta C.	1856 _w	IT	MS	IT	Chi	Chi	Cho	1/2	
Daisy D.	1879 _d								
Thenie	1880 _d								
Lovica E.	1885 _d								
Alvers R.	1888 _s								
James A.	1891 _s								
Johnnie G.	1896 _s								
Dixie H. Colbert	1863	IT	MS	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	3/8	T1S R3E CHI
Nettie	1873 _w	AR	--	GA	0	0	0	4/4	
Bulah	1891 _d								
Mama	1893 _d								
Holmes	1895 _s								
Elmer	1897 _s								
Effie	1897 _d								
William M. Guy	1845	IT	MS	MS	Chi	0	Chi	3/4	T1S R3E CHI
Maggie	1872 _w	AL	TN	IND	0	0	0	4/4	
Serena J.	1890 _d								
Angeline E.	1892 _d								
Louis Harris	1890	IT	TN	TN	(adopted son)				
Fred Harris	1892	IT	TN	TN	(adopted son)				
Quince Harris	1895	IT	TN	TN	(adopted son)				

1900 Census

113

Name	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Walter Colbert	1865	IT	MS	MS	Cho	Chi	Cho	1/2	Ardmore CHI
Henrietta	1863w	TX	VA	MO	0	0	0	4/4	
Alexa Cazan	1877	TX	IT	TX	(step-daughter)				
Madeline	1895d	TX	IT	TX					
Walter S.	1898s	IT	IT	TX					
William Colbert	1866	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Cho	Chi	1/2	T4S R3E CHI
Thanet	1897d	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi		
Louis V. Colbert	1863	IT	IT	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T4S R3E CHI
Betsy	1862	MO	KY	MO	0	0	0	4/4	
Eva L.	1890d								
Elizabeth	1892d								
Lila E.	1894d								
Amy	1897d								
Julia M.	1900d								
Serena Carter	1843	IT	TN	MS	Chi	0	Chi	1/2	Ardmore, CHI
Charles D.	1868s	IT	AL	IT	Chi	Che	Chi		
Gertrude	1872	TX	MO	MO	0	0	0	4/4	(dtr-in-law)
Humphrey Colbert	1850	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/4	T2N R8E CHI
Salina	1862w	IT	MS	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/8	
Wally Colbert	1863	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T2N R8E CHI
Louisa	1868w	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	
Amanda	1887d								
Minnie	1889d								
Serena	1892d								
Nora	1893d								
Salina	1896d								
Mack	1897s								
Zeno	1899s								
Frank	1890s								
Daugherty Colbert	1872	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/4	T2S R5E CHI
Nettie	1877	TN	TN	TN	0	0	0	4/4	
Eliza L.	1896d								
Harly H.	1897s								
Dennon A.	1899s								
Benjamin Colbert	1869	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T3S R6E CHI
Joel C. Kemp	1857	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/2	T3S R6E CHI
Elizabeth M.	1864w	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/2	
Dasia	1879d								
Eli C.	1886s								
James E.	1888s								
Fannie E.	1890d								
Mary	1893d								
Raymond H.	1896s								
Joel L.	1899s								
Joseph A. Bynum	1855	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/2	T3S R6E CHI
Gertrude	1875w	TX	MO	TX	0	0	0	4/4	
Lula	1883d								
Ramonia	1887d								
Lucy D.	1889d								
Charley R.	1892s								
Joseph R.	1897s								
Netty	1899d								

1900 Census

114

Name	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Linan? Colbert	1888	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T3S R6E CHI
Ben F. Colbert	un 20	--	--	--	Chi	Chi	Chi		T4S R6E CHI
Agnes	1881w	IT	MS	AR					
Calvin Colbert	1851	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T8S R11E CHI
Susan	1852w	IT							
Ada	1890s								
Frank R.	1895s								
Amos Colbert	1862	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T8S R6E CHI
Icy	1870w								
Umphrey	1895s								
Alice	1887d								
James McAlester	1841	AR	KY	NC	Chi	0	0	4/4	T6-McAlester
Rebecca	1841w	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/2	CHO
William	1880s								
Robert Kye	1851	IT	--	MS	0	0	0	0	T7N R17E CHO
Annie	1855	IT	IT	MS	Cre				
Malissa Colbert	1879	IT	IT	IT	Cre	Chi	Cre	0	(step-dtr)
Laymon Colbert	1883	IT	IT	IT	Cre	Chi	Cre	0	(step-son)
Kizzie Colbert	1880	IT	IT	IT	Cre	Cre	Cre	0	(dtr-law)
Robert Carney	1881	IT	IT	IT					T7N R17F CHO
Selvie	1877w	IT	IT	IT					
Sim Colbert	1855	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	(bro-law)
Lela Colbert	1865	IT	MS	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T7N R17E CHO
James Choate	1886s	IT	IT	IT					
William Colbert	1892s	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Cho	Chi	0	
Edward Colbert	1881	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T6N R27E CHO
Sam Colbert	1892	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T5N R24F CHO
Billy Colbert	1825	MS	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T3N R19E CHO
Martha	1844w	IT	MS	MS	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	
Ellis	1871s								
John	1889s								
Alex T. Colbert	1876	IT	MS	IT	Chi	Chi	Cho	0	T3N R19E CHO
Susan	1876w								
Malissa	1889d								
William Colbert	1865	IT	MS	MS	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T3N R19E CHO
Wash Colbert	1879	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T2N R18E CHO
Jensey	1874w								
William Colbert	1855	IT	MS	MS	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T2N R18E CHO
Dennis Colbert	1855	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T2N R19E CHO
Melissa	1859	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	
Gibson Colbert	1878	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T3N R10E CHO
Simon Colbert	1887	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	1/8	T2N R21E CHO
Rhodie Potts	????	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T2N R24E CHO
William	1891s	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	
Susannah	1896d								
Simon	1899s								
Aleson Colbert	1880m	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T3S R12E CHO
Sim	1898s								
Aaron Colbert	1866	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Chi	Cho	0	T5S R13E CHO
Eliza	1887d	IT	IT	IT					
Gibson Colbert	1865	IT	MS	MS	Cho	Cho	--	0	T8S R22E CHO
Nancy	1872w								
Maggie	1888d								
Sophia J.	1890d								

1900 Census

115

Name	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Davidson Colbert	1867	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T6SR23E CHO
Levina	1864w								
Dixon	1895s								
Emelena	1899d								
Morriss	1899s								
Charles Colbert	1864	IT	---	--	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T6SR23E CHO
Jerusa	1861w								
Frances	1891d								
Herndon	1896s								
Sampson Colbert	1822	MS	MS	MS	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T8SR24E CHO
Cean	1860w	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	
Grayson	1893s	IT	IT	IT					
Levi Colbert	1864	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T2SR26E CHO
Winnie	1874w								
Siney	1890d								
Cillen	1894d								
Philliston	1896d								
Battiest Colbert	1878	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T2S R23E CHO
Charley Colbert	1877	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T1SR23E? CHO
Sophia	1883w								
Johnson Colbert	1849	IT	MS	MS	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T1SR23E? CHO
Sina	1865w								
Johnny	1874s								
Davis Colbert (fm)	1861wd	AR	MS	MS	0	0	0	4/4	T4SR16E CHO
George W.	1892s	IT	MS	AR	Chi	Chi	0	7/8	
Henry C.	1894s								
Rufus	1897s								
Ruthie	1897d								
Cora McCarty	1880sis	Ark	MS	MS					
Charlie Colbert	1880	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T3SR13E CHO
Cilly	1880w	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	
Amos Colbert	1867	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	0	T7SR26E CHO
Selin	1879w								
Sampson	1897s								
George A. Winters	1851	GA	KY	AL	0	0	0	4/4	Durant CHO
Amanda L.	1852w	MS	GA	MS	Chi	0	Chi	3/4	
Harley E.									
Colbert	1881	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	3/4	(stepson)
Richard Colbert	1883	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	3/4	(stepson)
James Colbert	1875	AR	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	3/4	T17NR18E CRE
Rosa	1875	IT	IT	IT					
Bynum Colbert	1855	IT	IT	IT	Cho	Cho	Cho	3/4	T17NR18E CRE
Betty	1870w	IT	TX	IT					
Nelly	1890d	IT	IT	IT					
Louis Colbert	1868	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Blk	3/4b	T17NR18E CRE
Sophonria	1872w	IT	PA	IT					
Andrew	1891s								
Vicey	1893d								
Marcy	1896d								
Millie	1897d								
Grant Colbert	1874	IT	IT	IT	Cre	Cho	Cre	1/2	T16NR18E CRE
Harriett	1877w	IT	IT	IT	Cre	Cre	Cre		
Sarah	1898d								

1900 Census

116

Name	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Rebecca Colbert	1859	MO	MO	KY	0	0	0	4/4	T8S R7E CHI
Corn	1880s	IT	IT	MO	Chi	Chi	0		
Lelia	1883d								
Nancy	1884d								
Joseph B. Potts	1856	IT	AL	MS	Chi	0	Chi	7/8	T8S R7E CHI
Nannie C.	1864w	TX	KY	KY	0	0	0	4/4	
Pearl	1881d								
Georgia	1884d								
William F.	1887s								
Joseph B.	1889s								
Ruby M.	1896d								
Jemima <u>Davis</u>	1847	KY	KY	KY	0	0	0	(mother-in-law)	
John T. Potts	1842	IT	AL	MS	Chi	0	Chi	7/8	T8S R7E CHI
Mary M.	1860w	TX	TN	AL	Chi	Chi	Cho	15/16	
Coldy	1882s								
John T.	1890s								
Allie M.	1892d								
Mary M.	1895d								
Ben A.	1897s								
Jeff Colbert	1878	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	Erret Town
Lizzie	1881w	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	CHI
Joel	1900s								
Louisa Burney	1848wd	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/4	T6S R7E CHI
Benjamin	1881s	IT	LA	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/4	
Paul	1885s								
Arvilla	1888d								
Joseph <u>Ross</u>	1889gs	IT	AL	IT	Chi	0	Chi		
James <u>Ross</u>	1855	AL	AL	AL	0	0	0	4/4	(son-in-law)
Ada <u>Colbert</u>	1895gd	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi		
George Colbert	1853	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T5N R6E CHI
Sukey	1867w	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	
Nora	1883d								
Dority	1891s								
Richard	1895s								
Alvers	1898s								
Julia Colbert	1855	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T5N R6F CHI
John <u>Billie</u>	1877s	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	
Edd Colbert	1872	IT	--	--	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T4N R7E CHI
Martha	1875w								
Joshua	1893s								
Ben	1898s								
Calvin Dyer	1862	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	T4N R8E CHI
Sallie	1870w	IT	IT	IT	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	
Susannah <u>Colbert</u>	1840	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	0	(widow, mother-in-law)
Nancy M. Colbert	1845	TX	KY	KY	0	0	0	4/4	T1S R7W CHI
Samuel T.	1876s	IT	IT	TX	Cho	Cho	0	1/2	
Thomas R.	1879s								
Mary E.	1880d								
Albert D. Colbert	1855	IT	MS	MS	Chi	Chi	Chi	1/2	T7S R7W CHI
Mary A.	1855w	TX	TN	LA	0	0	0	0	
Flora H. <u>Belden</u>	1887	TX	MS	TX	(step-daughter)				

1900 Census

Name	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Joe Colbert	????	IT	AL	??	Cre	Cre	Cre	0	T16NR15E CRE
Amanda	????	IT	IT	IT					
Jackson	1897s								
Charlie	1897s								
Luvina Colbert	????	IT	AL	AL	Cre	Cre	Cre	0	T16NR15E CRE
Ella	1883w	IT	IT	IT					
George	1887s								
Benjmain	1894s								
Lizzie Colbert	1865	IT	IT	IT	Cre	Cre	Cre	0	T9N R15E CRE
Robert	1888s	IT	IT	IT	Cre	Cre	Cre	0	
Joseph	1890s								
Mary	1892d								
William Colbert	1845	IT	AL	AL	Cre	Cre	Cre	0	T9N R15E CRE
James Colbert	1850	IT	IT	IT	Cre	Cre	Blk	7/8b	T16NR15E CRE

5. Final Rolls of the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations, completed in the Indian Territory, January 1, 1906.
Beside each name is the individual's Roll Number.

Part I-Chickasaws by Blood

Humphrey Colbert	13	Mary Colbert	2106
Salina Colbert	14	Margaret Colbert	2137
Jackson R. Colbert	15	Frank Colbert	2161
Mary Wolfe Colbert	16	Jeff Colbert	2175
Lucy Colbert	18	Lyman Colbert	2432
Amanda Colbert	19	Burney Colbert	2483
Walton Colbert	66	Mary Colbert	2599
Louisa Colbert	67	Ida O. Colbert	2644
Amanda Colbert	68	Dixie H. Colbert	2721
Minnie Colbert	69	Bulah Colbert	2722
Frank Colbert	70	Mamie Colbert	2723
Serena Colbert	71	Holmes Colbert	2724
Nora Colbert	72	Effie Colbert	2725
Mack Colbert	73	Elmer Colbert	2726
Wilburn Colbert	265	Willie Colbert	2880
Gipson Colbert	297	Thanet Colbert	2882
Daugherty C. Colbert	524	Louis V. Colbert	2896
Harley Humphrey Colbert	525	Eva Lou Colbert	2897
Denovo A. Colbert	526	Elizabeth Honor Colbert	2898
Zeno Penner Colbert	527	Eula Emily Colbert	2899
Jessie Colbert	619	Amy Colbert	2900
James E. Colbert	892	Julia May Colbert	2901
James Colbert	893	Sim Colbert	3242
Leila Colbert	894	Jim Colbert	3243
Holmes Colbert	895	Ben Colbert	3244
Ben Colbert	896	Aden Colbert	3245
Theodore Colbert	897	Allie Lee Colbert	3246
Edmon Colbert	903	Billie Colbert	3592
Joshua Colbert	904	Lamon Colbert	3619
George Colbert	956	Harley Eugene Colbert	3639
Sukey Colbert	957	Richard G. Colbert	3640
Daugherty Colbert	959	Holmes Colbert	3666
Richard Floyd Colbert	960	Frank Overton Colbert	3667
Abijah Colbert	961	Nora Colbert	958
Laura D. Colbert	962	Nancy Colbert	1056
Benis Colbert	1053	Sam Tilden Colbert	3689
Lucy Colbert	1055	Thomas Rutherford Colbert	3690
Cubby Colbert	1057	James Belden Colbert	3693
Jim Colbert	1058	Albert D. Colbert	3699
Ed F. Colbert	1782	William Colbert	3896
Lydia Colbert	1969	Guy Colbert	4006
Martha Colbert	1970	Liza Lessie Colbert	4020
Icy Colbert	1972	Zona Colbert	4038
Alice Colbert	1973	Elizabeth Colbert	4081
Humphreys Colbert	1974	Martin Colbert Jr.	4084

Benjamin Franklin Colbert	4085	Ruth Colbert	4695
Cecil Calvin Colbert	4086	Benjamin H. Colbert	4733
Tolbert Ray Colbert	4087	Gladdes Colbert	4757
Mamie Marie Colbert	4088	Annie Colbert	4790
Luther Earl Colbert	4089	James Colbert	4941
Judie Colbert	4147	Holmes B. Colbert	4993
Marion Estelle Colbert	4206		
Walter Colbert	4279		
Czarina M. Colbert	4280		
Charley Colbert	4374		
Cornie Colbert	4376		
Lela Colbert	4377		
Joe E. Colbert	4427		
Annie R. Colbert	4428		
Nancy Louisia Colbert	4429		
Henry Tuttle Colbert	4430		
Lettie M. Colbert	4431		
Joseph E. Colbert	4432		
Salina Colbert	4564		
Martha Colbert	4569		
Ben Colbert	4570		
Deen Colbert	4599		
Isabel Colbert	4660		
Emil Franklin Colbert	4667		
Oscar Colbert	4668		
Eula Colbert	4669		
Henry C. Colbert	4693		
Rufus Colbert	4694		

Part II-New Born Chickasaws by Blood

Walter Colbert	4	Clarence Cadian Colbert	387
James Henry Colbert	25	Pauline Colbert	413
Oscar Colbert Jr.	26	Sam Louis Colbert	465
Holman Colbert	27	Annie Colbert	482
William Blanchard Colbert	30	Amanda Colbert	483
Mildred Francille Colbert	161	Bruce Colbert	529
Folsom Hume Colbert	199	Iva Lois Colbert	532
Andrew Bryon Colbert	348		
Dorothy Colbert	356		

Part III-Minor Chickasaws by Blood

Nellie Colbert	31	Leona R. Colbert	207
Edward Lynn Colbert	39	David Colbert	224
Winnie Colbert	52	Nancy Louise Colbert	238
Leona Colbert	127	Mattie May Colbert	278
Selina Colbert	154		
Douglas Colbert	206		

Part IV-Choctaws by Blood

Mary E. Colbert	96	John Colbert	5599
Theodore W. Colbert Jr.	97	Ellis Colbert	5641
Nelma Colbert	98	Simon Colbert	6121
Martha Colbert	758	Sam Colbert	6791
John Colbert	759	Jasper Colbert	7926
Alexander Colbert	761	Siney Colbert	8348
Winey Colbert	1168	Edward Colbert	8349
Amos Colbert	1187	Thomas Colbert	8350
Sampson Colbert	1189	Cornelia Colbert	8351
John Colbert	1190	Dave Colbert	8750
Naney Colbert	1199	Selena Colbert	8881
Josie Colbert	1200	Sim Colbert	9015
Joel Colbert	1201	Elba Colbert	9016
Tobias Colbert	1202	Athenius M. Colbert	9632
Noel Colbert	1614	Agnes J. Fisher Colbert	9633
Sampson Colbert	1791	Benjamin H. Colbert Jr.	9634
Sean Colbert	1792	Clarence Colbert	10041
Reason Colbert	1793	Lewis C. Colbert	10042
Sylwid Colbert	1794	Lena Colbert	10043
Davison Colbert	2026	Vera Colbert	10044
Daviney Colbert	2027	Clarence Colbert Jr.	10045
Dickson Colbert	2028	Minnie Belle Colbert	10046
Emiline Colbert	2029	Gaines Colbert	10555
Marswes Colbert	2030	Aaron Colbert	11396
Simpson Colbert	2266	Eliza Colbert	11397
Milly Colbert	2269	Charlie Colbert	11596
Osborne Colbert	2270	Allison Colbert	12091
Jesse Colbert	2271	Jasper Colbert	12289
Golton Colbert	2272	Sam Colbert	12609
Charles Colbert	2787	Sam Colbert	13522
Julia Anna Colbert	2788	Edmund Colbert	13587
Frances Colbert	2789	Lily Colbert	13803
Herndon Colbert	2790	Willie Colbert	13806
Acy Colbert	2791	Ben Colbert	13872
William J. Colbert	3338	Ely Colbert	13879
Sinie Colbert	3339	Emily Colbert	13880
Sam Colbert	3966	Sallie Colbert	13900
Eliza Colbert	3967	Elias Colbert	13906
Frank Colbert	3968	Malissa Colbert	13952
Jimmy Colbert	3970	Sukey Colbert	13953
Nick Colbert	4443	Annie Colbert	13954
Sukey Colbert	4820	Agnes Colbert	13955
Vina Colbert	5059	Joe Colbert	13956
Washington Colbert	5537	Gill Colbert	13957
Johnson Colbert	5578	Martha Colbert	13979
Sinie Colbert	5579	Levi Colbert	13338
Charlie Colbert	5580	Winnie Colbert	13339
Bessie Colbert	5581	Sina Colbert	13340

Sillen Colbert	13341
Phillisten Colbert	13342
Lena Colbert	13352
Charley Colbert	14634
Jincy Colbert	14698
Webster Colbert	14702
Aaron Colbert	14913
Elijah Ruben Colbert	15603
Margaret Colbert	15820
Salina Colbert	15859
Susan Colbert	16063

Part V- New Born Choctaws by Blood

Harold W. Colbert	73	Fannie Colbert	1364
Harriet Colbert	206	Sampson Colbert	1389
Lylie Colbert	852	Eliza Colbert	1418
Clarence Colbert	956	Susie May Colbert	1419
Sam Colbert	1311	Julia Ann Colbert	1443

Part VI- Minor Choctaws by Blood

Blanche Colbert	238	Nathaniel Colbert	465
-----------------	-----	-------------------	-----

Part VII-Creeks by Blood

Louvinia Colbert	3464	Dick Colbert	8447
Ella Colbert	3465	Thompson Colbert	8546
George Colbert	3466	Ellen Colbert	8547
Benjamin Colbert	3467	Sam Colbert	8563
Joe Colbert	6276	Matilda Colbert	8605
Semondy Colbert	6277	Louis Colbert	8606
Jackson Colbert	6278	Walter Colbert	8607
Charley Colbert	6279	Malissa Colbert	8737
Lizzie Colbert	5616	Leemon Colbert	8738
Robert Colbert	5617	Kizzie Colbert	8739
Joe Colbert	5618	Nellie Colbert	9284
Mary Colbert	5619	Linda Colbert	9431
Willie Colbert	5620	Bettie Colbert	9642
William Colbert	6777		
Mahala Colbert	6778		
Daniel Colbert	7843		
Lucy Colbert	7844		

Part VIII-New Born Creeks by Blood

William Colbert	888
Kizzie Colbert	1059

Part IX- Minor Creeks by Blood

Albertha Colbert	456
------------------	-----

Fullblood Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians taking the Colbert surname

Chickasaw Enrollment Card 1707

1. James Colbert, fullblood. d. by 1896; married Maria A., d. by 1896; issue:
 2. James Colbert
2. James Colbert. also known as Dennis Colbert. b. 1856; living at Tushkahoma, 1899

Choctaw Card 730

1. An-ti-nubbee, fullblood; dead in Mississippi; married Walehuma, dead in Mississippi; issue:
 2. Sampson Colbert
2. Sampson Colbert. also known as Samp Colbert. b. 1818; married Sean, dtr of Nealubbe and Lahmonkey; she b. 1857; Samp living at Lukfata, 1899; issue:
 3. Reason Colbert
3. Reason Colbert. b. 1891

Chickasaw Card 1094

1. Sham-mey, fullblood, d. by 1897; married Ti-en-sie, dead by 1897; issue:
 2. Sim Colbert
2. Sim Colbert. b. 1852; living at Silo, 1899; married Rhody; married (2) Kate Moore, dtr of A.W. and E. Moore; she d. 1872, d. 1901; married (3) Lydia Wolfe, dtr of Amos Holden; she b. 1880; issue:
 3. Lizzie Colbert. b. 1880; married Sam Shirley
 4. Jim Colbert. b. 1886
 5. Ben Colbert. b. 1887
 6. Eden Colbert. b. 1894
 7. Allie Lee Colbert. b. 1898
 8. Annie Colbert. newborn, 1905
 9. Amanda Colbert. newborn, 1905
 10. Martha Colbert b. 1901 (Chickasaw Card 665)

Choctaw Card 1231

1. Jonas Colbert, fullblood. dead by 1896; married Sallie, dead by 1896; issue:
 2. William J. Colbert
 3. Levi Colbert
2. William J. Colbert. b. 1878; living at Lukfata, 1899; married Sinie Willis, dtr of Isman and Mary J. Willis; she b. 1876
3. Levi Colbert. b. 1860; living at Smithville, 1896; married Winnie, dtr of Tushka and Selme Billy; she born 1870; issue:
 4. Sina Colbert b. 1887
 5. Cellen Colbert b. 1890
 6. Philiston Colbert b. 1893
 7. Sophia Colbert b. 1898 d. April 1901
 8. Sampson Colbert newborn, 1905

Choctaw Card 543

1. Alinton Colbert., fullblood; dead by 1896; married Manda, dead by 1896; issue:
 2. Amos Colbert
 3. John Colbert
 4. George Colbert

2. Amos Colbert. b. 1866; living at Eagletown, 1896; married Selin, dtr of Sam Houston and Okishtima; she b. 1876, d. 9 Jan 1902; issue:

5. Sampson Colbert b. 1896

3. John Colbert b. 1880

4. George Colbert b. 1883 d. 13 March 1901

Chickasaw Card 843

1. Amos Colbert, fullblood; dead by 1897; married Ada Burney, dau. of Ben Burney and Louisa Alberson Burney; she d. by 1897; issue:

2. Euella Colbert b. 1892 d. 26 Jan 1899

3. Burney Colbert b. 1894 living at Cumberland, 1899

Chickasaw Card 287

1. Ben Colbert, fullblood, dead by 1897; married Nellie, dead by 1897; issue:

2. Edmond Colbert

2. Edmond Colbert. b. 1872; living Gertie, 1899; married Martha Lewis, dtr of John Lewis and Ah-litch-ta; she b. 1872; issue:

3. Joshua Colbert b. 1894 also called Goochoma Colbert

4. Ben Colbert b. 30 Aug 1898

5. Selina Colbert minor Chickasaw, 1905

6. Holmon Colbert newborn, 1905

Chickasaw Card 666

1. Abijah Colbert, fullblood, dead by 1897; married Rhody, dead by 1897; issue:

2. Amos Henry Colbert

2. Amos Henry Colbert. b. 1862; d. 19 Sept 1901; buried Brownsville, I.T.; married Icy Hamilton, dtr of James and Sallie Hamilton; she b. 1867; issue:

3. Alice Colbert b. 1886

4. Humphreys Colbert b. 1894

5. Edna Colbert b. 1898 d. Nov 1901

Choctaw Card 3093

1. Thomas Colbert, fullblood, dead by 1896; married Chafahoke, dead by 1896; issue:

2. Sim Colbert

2. Sim Colbert. b. 1852; living at Featherstone, 1896; married (1) Linney (2) Louisa Carney, dtr of Wallace and Susan Carney; she b. 1872, d. 8 Oct 1899; issue:

3. Elba Colbert b. 1879

Chickasaw Card 339

1. Cubby Colbert, fullblood, dead by 1897; married Benis, dtr of Awahtubby and Shunpolecha, formerly married to Jim Henderson; she b. 1852; she also once married to Adam Lewis; she living Stonewall, 1897; issue:

2. Jim Colbert b. 1887

3. Lucy Colbert b. 1890

4. Nancy Colbert b. 1892

5. Cubby Colbert b. 1894

Choctaw Card 1047

1. Louis Colbert, fullblood, dead by 1896; married Elaposhema, dead by 1896; issue:
 2. Charleston Colbert
2. Charleston Colbert b. 1861; living at Lukfata, 1899; married Julia Anna, dtr of Ben Tisso and Mantona; she b. 1857; issue:
 3. Frances Colbert b. 1888
 4. Herndon Colbert b. 1893
 5. Charlie Colbert b. 2 Aug 1902

Choctaw Card 1954

1. Johnson Colbert, fullblood. living, 1896; married Melissie, dead by 1896; issue:
 2. John Colbert b. 1871

Choctaw Card 1427

1. James Colbert, fullblood. dead by 1896; married Licey, dead by 1896; issue:
 2. Sam Colbert
2. Sam Colbert. b. 1859; living at Goodland, 1899; married Eliza Frazier, dtr of Stephen and Louisa Frazier; she b. 1875; issue:
 3. Frank Colbert b. 1896
 4. Jimmy Colbert b. 8 Oct 1901

Choctaw Card 3733

1. Gaines Colbert, fullblood, b. 1883; living at Armstrong Academy, 1899

Choctaw Card 5771

1. Ruben Colbert, fullblood, dead by 1896; married Sissie, dead by 1896; issue:
 2. Elijah Ruben Colbert
2. Elijah Ruben Colbert. b. 1882; living at Caddo 1899

Choctaw Card 2345

1. Silas Colbert, fullblood, dead by 1896; married Sisa, dead by 1896; issue:
 2. Sam Colbert b. 1889; died before 25 Sept 1902; was ward of George Dwight in 1899

Choctaw Card 4408

1. Jasper Lewis, fullblood, dead by 1896; issue:
 2. Jasper Colbert b. 1883; living Atoka, 1899

Choctaw Card 866

1. Davis Colbert, fullblood; dead by 1896; issue:
 2. Simpson Colbert
2. Simpson Colbert b. 1856; living at Eagletown, 1899; married Winnie Barlow, dtr of Billie and Sinney Barlow; she b. 1861, was previously married to P. Farver; issue:
 3. Silva Ann Colbert (aka Farver) b. 1882 d. 24 June 1900
 4. Milly Colbert b. 1886
 5. Osborne Colbert b. 1888
 6. Jesse Colbert b. 1890
 7. Golton Colbert b. 28 Jan 1896
 8. Lylie Colbert newborn, 1905

Chickasaw Card 97

1. Vann Colbert, fullblood, dead by 1897; married Cartohey, dead by 1897; issue:
 2. Louis Vann Colbert
 3. (male) Colbert
2. Louis Vann Colbert b. 1862; living at Mannsville, 1899; married Betsy Bean, dtr of Ben and Honor Bean; she b. 1861; issue:
 4. Eva Lou Colbert b. 1889
 5. Elizabeth Honor Colbert b. 1891
 6. Eula Emily Colbert b. 1893
 7. Amy Colbert b. 1898
 8. Julia May Colbert b. 1900
3. (male) Colbert. Issue:
 9. T.S. Colbert. living at Mannsville, 1972

Unidentified mixed-blood ColbertsChoctaw Card 4129

1. Jackson Colbert. dead by 1896; married Siley; issue:
 2. Charlie Colbert
2. Charlie Colbert. b. 1880; ward of Jimson Cole at Stringtown, 1899

Choctaw Card 2840

1. Willie Colbert, dead by 1896; married Siney, dtr of Oksakmisspee and Ahleheina; she b. 1857; living at Lodi, 1899; issue:
 2. Edward Colbert
2. Edward Colbert. b. 1880; married Lena Lewis; issue:
 3. Harriet Colbert. newborn, 1905

Chickasaw Card 731

1. Wilson Colbert. dead by 1896; married Elsie McCoy, dtr of Jim McCoy; she b. 1854; living at Cumberland, 1899; issue:
 2. Frank Colbert
2. Frank Colbert. b. 1874; in penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, 1899

Choctaw Card 392

1. Billie Colbert. living in 3rd District of Choctaw Nation, 1896; married Martha Anderson, fullblood, dtr of John and Julia Anderson; she b. 1835; living at Tushkahoma, 1896; issue:
 2. John Colbert b. 1882

The Colbert Genealogy

Included here is a chart showing the Colbert genealogy from the progenitor, James Logan Colbert, down to present times. By no means is in complete; indeed, research continues to update it. Blank sheets are available at the end of this section on which family members may add other data. Each individual here is listed twice, first in the indented column as a child, second in the left-hand column showing his or her children.

1. James (Logan) Colbert. b. Scotland, c.1721;d. Alabama, Jan., 1784; settled among the Chickasaws circa 1740; married three Chickasaws, two fullbloods and a halfblood; the last wife, the halfblood, later married John McIntosh Jr. and died at Tockshish in the summer of 1822; issue:
 2. a daughter (by first fullblood)
 3. William Colbert (by second fullblood)
 4. George Colbert (by second fullblood)
 5. Levi Colbert (by second fullblood)
 6. Joseph Colbert (by second fullblood)
 7. Samuel Colbert (by second fullblood)
 8. James Colbert (by halfblood)
 9. Susan Colbert (by halfblood)
2. ----- Colbert. no information; said to have been Sally Colbert, and to have married Thomas Love, a Loyalist who settled among the Chickasaws in 1782. see Marie Garland's THE CHICKASAW LOVES.
3. General William Colbert. "Chooshemataha", "Pyahego", "Billy Colbert"; b. c 1750;died near Pontotoc, Miss., April or May, 1827; married Jessie Moniac, dau. of Creek trader John Moniac; she may be the "Mimey" Colbert in 1836 deed records and later; issue:

10. Ishtonarhay Colbert	18. Wileky Colbert
11. Tooklaishtubby Colbert	19. Schtimmarhoye Colbert
12. Jamison Colbert	20. Onnarhoketay Colbert
13. Balbarhubby Colbert	21. Apalartubby Colbert
14. Meharchubby Colbert	22. Nancknitubby Colbert
15. Immarhollochettubby Colbert	23. Nuzeka Colbert
16. Logan Colbert	24. Molly Colbert
17. Shemarhoye Colbert	25. Margaret Colbert
4. Colonel George Colbert. "Tootemastubbe"; b. 1764;died Fort Towson, I.T., 7 Nov 1839; married two daughters of Doublehead, a Cherokee chief; one died Colbert Ferry, 1807-1818; the other, Salechie, died I.T., 1 Feb 1846; issue:

26. John Colbert	30. Vina Colbert
27. Vicy Colbert	31. Jane Colbert
28. Susan Colbert	32. Pitman Colbert
29. George Colbert Jr.	
5. Major Levi Colbert. "Itawamba Mingo"; b. 1759;died Colbert Co., Ala., 2 June 1834; married Mintshoye and Temusharhochtay; issue:

33. Martin Colbert (by Temusharhochtay)	
34. Alexander Colbert	" "
35. Dolly Colbert	" "
36. Adam Colbert	" "

37. Commodore Colbert " "
38. Abijah Jackson Colbert " "
39. Charles Colbert (by Mintahoyo) " "
40. Charity Colbert " "
41. Lemuel Colbert " "
42. Phalishta Colbert " "
43. Asa Colbert " "
44. Monroe Colbert " "
45. Andrew Morgan Colbert " "
46. Lewis Colbert " "
47. Mariah Colbert " "
48. Robert Colbert " "
49. Daugherty Colbert " "
50. Lotty Colbert (adopted, dau. of Ishtimmarharlechar) " "
51. Chersey Colbert " "
52. Lesila Colbert " "
53. Dorothy Colbert " "
6. Joseph Colbert. mentioned only in the King Papers and by Bullen in 1799; children may have been adopted by George, Levi, or James.
7. Samuel Colbert. mentioned only in the King Papers; said to have married Nancy Frazier and issue:
 54. Winchester Colbert
 55. Susy Perry Colbert
 56. William James Colbert
 57. Robert Colbert
8. Major James Colbert. b. circa, 1768; died Doaksville, I.T., May, 1842; married Susan James, a Choctaw, prior to 1799; issue:
 58. Charles Colbert
 59. Tennessee Colbert
 60. Susan Miller Colbert
 61. Elizabeth Colbert
 62. Thomas Colbert
 63. Joseph Colbert
 64. James Isaac Colbert
 65. Samuel A. Colbert
 66. Molcy Colbert
 67. Sukey Colbert
 68. Matilda Colbert
9. Susan Colbert. married by 1797 to Allen, a white man, possibly the James Allen who settled among the Chickasaws prior to 1793 and was mentioned by Bullen in 1799; James Allen married Betsy Love; issue:
 69. Peggy Allen
- 10.-11. mentioned only on 1818 census
12. Jamison Colbert. mentioned, 1804; on 1818 census; held a reserve, 1836.
- 13.-15. mentioned only on 1818 census.
16. Logan Colbert. died I.T., c. 1870; on 1818 census; made deed, 1830; on census, 1847; jury tickets to, 1858-1866.
- 17.-22. mentioned only on 1818 census.
23. Nuzeka Colbert. "Nossaecachubby". mentioned only on 1818 census; died in Mississippi, 27 May 1834; married Mary; issue:
 70. Thomas Stuart Colbert
 71. Fliza Jane Colbert
 72. George Washington Colbert
 73. William Colbert
24. Molly Colbert. died Indian Territory, ca 1850; on 1818 census as Molly Gunn; married (1) Christopher Oxberry, a halfblood Cherokee who d. ca 1807; married (2) James Gunn, a white man from Virginia who settled among the Chickasaws in 1777 and died in 1825; Oxberry previously married with issue James and Silas Oxberry; Gunn previously married to Okashuah with no issue; issue:
 74. Sally Oxberry
 75. Elizabeth Oxberry
 76. Rhoda Gunn

25. Margaret Colbert. not on 1818 census; mentioned in treaty, 1832; involved in court case in Lowndes County, Miss., 1842; married Major John L. Allen, a white man and deputy Chickasaw Agent in the 1830s; no known issue; may have remained in Mississippi.
26. John Colbert. mentioned only on 1818 census.
27. Vicy Colbert. died Indian Territory, Jan., 1846; married Dr. John McDonna in January or February, 1840; issue:
77. (female) McDonna
28. Susan Colbert. b. Colbert Ferry, 1810; died near Hugo, I.T., 13 Jan 1860; buried Rose Hill Cem.; married (1) John McLish, mixed blood Chickasaw who died in Jan. or Feb., 1838; married (2) Robert M. Jones, Choctaw, b. 1 Oct 1808, d. 22 Feb 1873; Issue (John McLish was married to a white woman in 1818 and all McLishes are probably descended from that marriage):
78. George W. Jones
29. George Colbert Jr. on 1818 census; may have been the George Washington Colbert who moved west in 1844.
30. Vina Colbert. on 1818 census only.
31. Jane Colbert. listed on 1818 census; moved west, 1837; married Charles Frazier; issue:
79. Andrew Jackson Frazier
32. Major Pitman Colbert. or "Sam B. Colbert", adopted son of George Colbert; probably a son of Samuel Colbert; b. 1797 or earlier; died Doaksville, I.T., 26 Feb 1853; buried there; married Sarah McGillivray, dau. of William McGillivray (Coahoma); Sarah was described as "old woman" in 1842; issue:
80. Henry Colbert
81. Zachariah Colbert
82. Susan Catherine Colbert
83. Harriet Colbert
33. Martin Colbert. d. DeSoto Co., Miss., summer, 1840; married (1) Sally Allen, dau. of James Allen and Betsy Love; married (2) Louisiana Allen, dau. of James Allen and Betsy Love; she later married Murray by 1846; married (3) Sally Oxberry, dau. of Christopher Oxberry and Molly Colbert; Sally Oxberry b. 1794, d. I.T., 1896; she married (2) Captain Isaac Alberson; issue:
84. Benjamin Franklin Colbert (by Sally Allen)
85. James Allen Colbert (by Sally Allen)
86. John Calvin Colbert (by Lucy Allen)
87. John Randolph Colbert (by Lucy Allen)
88. Henry Clay Colbert (by Lucy Allen)
89. Minerva Colbert (by Lucy Allen)
90. Margaret Colbert (by Sally Allen)
91. Rebecca Colbert (by Sally Allen)
34. Alexander Colbert. listed on 1818 census; died Mississippi, c. 1836; issue:
92. Eveline Colbert
35. Dolly Colbert. listed only on 1818 census.
36. Adam Colbert. born c. 1805; died I.T. after 1847.
37. Commodore Colbert. listed on 1818 census; died I.T., 1841-47.
38. Abijah Jackson Colbert. b. ca 1818; may have died Oklahoma, 1914; see Fullblood section for possible issue.
39. Charles Colbert. died Indian Territory, spring, 1842; on 1818 census; married Mississippi Allen, dau. of James Allen and Betsy Love; she married by 1846 to Juzan; issue:

93. Rebecca Colbert
40. Charity Colbert. b. ca. 1805; married about 1829 to George G. Allen, son of James Allen and Betsy Love; both died after 1853; issue:
94. Martin Allen 96. Emily Allen
95. Elsie Allen
41. Lemuel Colbert. on 1818 census; died I.T. after 1856.
42. Phalishta Colbert. married Kilpatrick Carter, a white man, about 1817; Carter died 1836; issue:
97. Pamela Carter 99. Malena Carter
98. Colbert Carter 100. Susan Carter
43. Asa Colbert. on 1818 census; listed as heir of Levi on deed, 1841.
44. Monroe Colbert. listed only on 1818 census.
45. Andrew Morgan Colbert. b. 1825; died I.T. after 1856.
46. Lewis Colbert. listed only on 1841 deed as heir of Levi.
47. Mariah Colbert. died Indian Territory after 1876; married in 1852 to Joel Kemp, son of Levi Kemp and Polly Frazier; Kemp died 1875; issue:
101. Simon Burney Kemp 105. Daisy Kemp
102. Joel C. Kemp 106. Laura Kemp
103. Frances Elizabeth Kemp 107. Abigail Kemp
104. Lillie Kemp 108. Mary Jane Kemp
48. Robert Colbert. died I.T. after 1847; he or another Robert married Toka, a Chickasaw.
49. Daugherty Colbert. b. ca 1819; died I.T., ca 1856; married Jincy; issue:
109. George Colbert
50. Lotty Colbert. on census, 1818; listed as heir of Levi, 1841; married Davis James; issue:
110. Roberson James 111. Walton James
- 51.-53. listed on 1818 census only.
54. Winchester Colbert. also called "Daugherty" Colbert and confused with Levi's natural son; b. 1810; died Atoka, I.T., 1880; married (1) Lilsey, (2) Annica Kemp, dau. of Levi Kemp; issue:
112. Harley Humphrey Colbert
55. Susy Perry Colbert. on 1818 census only.
56. William James Colbert. "William Colbert Jr."; died Pontotoc, Ms., summer of 1837; married Kunnoyie, who died near Canadian, I.T., winter of 1838; issue:
113. Joseph Colbert 115. Samuel Colbert
114. Tennessee Colbert
57. Robert Colbert. on censuses, 1818, 1839, 1847; jury tickets issued, 1860-1862; see number 48.
58. Charles Colbert. died Mississippi, July 23, 1800.
59. Tennessee Colbert. b. circa 1801; died I.T. after 1847; married John A. Bynum, a white man who died at Pontotoc, Ms., January, 1836; issue:
116. Turner Bynum 118. John A. Bynum Jr.
117. Elizabeth Bynum
60. Susan Miller Colbert. b. 1814; died Indian Territory; married Lovard Morehead James, a white man, about Feb. 1831; he born Wilmington, Dela., 10 July 1808; not on 1847 census; issue:

119. Margaret Hinton James 120. Amelia James
61. Elizabeth Colbert. b. 1819; died I.T., 5 Jan 1872; married Charles Francis Eastman by 1841; he born 1800, d. 16 Oct 1874, buried Bloomfield Cemetery; issue:
121. Charles Francis Eastman Jr.
62. Thomas Colbert. on 1818 census; died in Arkansas in the winter of 1841-1842.
63. Joseph Colbert. on census, 1818, 1839, 1847; married Elmira Oxberry; issue:
122. Henry Colbert 128. Ed Colbert
123. Elvina Colbert 129. William Colbert
124. Emily Colbert 130. Joseph Colbert
125. Elizabeth Colbert 131. Jane Colbert
126. Albert Colbert 132. Lavinia Colbert
127. Frank Colbert
64. James Isaac Colbert. "James Colbert Jr."; b. ca. 1805; died Indian Territory after 1850; on 1818 census; mentioned by father in letter, 1828; married (1) Sally McLish, daughter of John McLish; she married (2) Richard J. Humphreys, a white man; James married (2) Caroline Moore, dau. of John B. Moore and wife Delilah Love, in Shelby Co., Tn., 25 Jan. 1833; Caroline born 1816, d. 1896, buried Pounds Cemetery, Union Chapel, Oklahoma; issue:
133. Benjamin Colbert (by Sally McLish)
134. James Holmes Colbert "
135. Harriet Colbert "
136. James "Brushy Jim" Colbert (by Caroline Moore)
137. Sophia Colbert "
138. Christopher Columbus Colbert "
139. Nathaniel Colbert "
140. Rebecca Colbert "
141. Jenny Lind Colbert "
65. Samuel A. Colbert. b. 14 Nov 1816; died Nelson, I.T., 27 August 1880; married (1) Rhoda Gunn, dau. of James Gunn and Molly Colbert; married (2) Lucinda (Ciney) Love, dau. of Thomas Love; married (3) Mary; Lucinda b. 14 Jan 1816, d. 9 Aug 1890; issue:
142. George Washington Colbert 148. Ellen A. Colbert
143. Mary Colbert 149. Virginia Colbert
144. Atwood Colbert 150. Wilson McAlester Colbert
145. Sarah Love Colbert 151. Delilah Colbert
146. Caroline Colbert 152. Ed F. Colbert
147. Isabella Colbert
66. Molcy Colbert. on census, 1818, 1847; never married; was a noted physician.
67. Sukey Colbert. on 1818 census only.
68. Matilda Colbert. listed only by Cyrus Harris.
69. Peggy Allen. born prior 1800; married Simon Burney, who died in Marshall or Chickasaw County, Mississippi, 1842; issue:
153. David Calhoun Burney 155. Levi Burney
154. Charlotte Burney
70. Thomas Stuart Colbert. admitted to Monroe, 5 June 1830.
71. Eliza Jane Colbert. admitted to Monroe, 9 June 1833.
72. George Washington Colbert. admitted to Monroe, 11 Sept 1831
73. William Colbert. admitted to Monroe, 11 Sept 1831.
74. Sally Oxberry. b. 1794; died near Colbert, I.T., 12 Sept 1896;

- buried Love Cemetery; married (1) Martin Colbert, with no issue; married (2) Captain Isaac Alberson, who died 1849; no issue.
75. Elizabeth Oxberry. married (1) James Harris, a white man; married (2) Malcolm McGee, born New York City, 1757, died Boggy Depot, I.T., 5 Nov 1848; divorced, 1821; issue:
156. Cyrus Harris 157. Jane McGee
76. Rhoda Gunn. b. near Pontotoc, Miss., 16 April 1818; died Colbert, I.T., 25 July 1876; married (1) Samuel A. Colbert; married (2) Joseph Brevard Potts of Tuscumbia, Alabama; he died 1862; issue:
158. Susan Colbert 161. Sallie Potts
159. John Taylor Potts 162. Mary Potts
160. Joseph Brevard Potts III
77. (female) McDonna. "infant" in 1846.
78. George W. Jones. b. 16 April 1840; died 1 August 1845; buried Rose Hill Cemetery.
79. Andrew Jackson Frazier. b. 1818; died I.T. after 1855.
80. Henry Colbert. described as a "young man", 1842; buried at Doaksville.
81. Zachariah Colbert. at school, 1848; married Elsie Allen, dau. of George G. and Charity Allen; no known issue.
82. Susan Catherine Colbert. b. 1829; died Doaksville, 14 Oct 1893; married Sampson Folsom, who died 1872.
83. Harriet Colbert. died Doaksville; married Dr. Henry Nail Folsom, who was b. 1814, died 19 June 1884; issue:
163. Pitman Colbert Folsom 164. Catherine Folsom
84. Benjamin Franklin Colbert. b. DeSoto Co., Ms., 18 Dec 1826; died Colbert, I.T., 11 March 1893; married (1) Martha McKinney (2) Malinda Factor (3) George Ann McCarthy (4) Lou Goldsby; Lou later married George A. Winter; issue:
165. Mary Colbert 170. Mary Colbert
166. Holmes Colbert 171. Frances Colbert
167. Texana Colbert 172. Harley Eugene Colbert
168. Eugenia Colbert 173. Richard Colbert
169. James Colbert 174. Martin Colbert
85. James Allen Colbert. b. DeSoto Co., Ms., 5 Feb 1832; died I.T., 26 Jan 1874; married Athenius M. Folsom, born 11 Aug 1835, died 19 Jan 1930; issue:
175. David Wall Colbert 179. Benjamin H. Colbert
176. Albert Pike Colbert 180. Henrietta Luceta Colbert
177. Charles Colbert 181. Lovica Colbert
178. Walter Colbert 182. Czarina Colbert
86. John Calvin Colbert. b. DeSoto Co., Ms., 1838; died Tishomingo, I.T., 1871; married Emma Frances Nail; she b. 1840, d. 1884; issue:
183. Ada Colbert 185. Isabella Rebecca Colbert
184. Ason Colbert 186. Clarence Colbert
87. John Randolph Colbert. mentioned 1840-1859.
88. Henry Clay Colbert. died Indian Territory.
89. Minerva Colbert. married a Billings by 1870.
90. Margaret Colbert. married to Henry McKinney, a Chickasaw, by 1859.
91. Rebecca Colbert. mentioned, 1859; married Ed Nail.
92. Eveline Colbert. married Benjamin Stephen Love, b. 1825, died 27 Dec 1856.

93. Rebecca Colbert. mentioned, 1845.
94. Martin Allen.
95. Elsie Allen. married Zachariah Colbert.
96. Emily Allen. married Robert L. Boyd, b. 1845, d. 1917.
97. Pamela Carter. b. circa 1820; married Francis M. Reynolds, son of Chickasaw Agent Benjamin Reynolds; Francis died Alabama or Mississippi, 1843.
98. Colbert Carter. b. Colbert Co., Ala., 1824; died I.T., 1876; married Elizabeth Humphreys, b. 1829, d. 1869; buried Bloomfield Cemetery; issue:
 187. Mattie Carter 188. Colbert Carter Jr.
99. Malena Carter. b. Colbert Co., Ala., 1826; married in November, 1842; "Mrs. Malena McDonna" is on 1847 census.
100. Susan Carter. b. Colbert Co., Ala., 1829; mentioned in 1842.
101. Simon Burney Kemp.
102. Joel C. Kemp.
103. Frances Elizabeth Kemp.
104. Lillie Kemp.
105. Daisy Kemp.
106. Laura Kemp.
107. Abigail Kemp.
108. Mary Jane Kemp.
109. George Colbert. b. Colbert, I.T., 1853; died High Hill, Oklahoma, 20 Nov 1911; Methodist minister; married Sukey Courtney; she b. Lebanon, I.T., 1870, died 1905; issue:
 189. Nora Colbert 192. Abijah Colbert
 190. Daugherty Colbert 193. Laura D. Colbert
 191. Richard Floyd Colbert
110. Roberson James.
111. Walton James. admitted to Monroe Church.
112. Harley Humphrey Colbert. b. Indian Territory, 1842; married Elmira Parker, who died 1884; married (2) Salina, b. 1857; issue:
 194. Daugherty Colbert 195. Walton Colbert
113. Joseph Colbert. admitted to Monroe, 4 Oct 1829; lived Perry Co., I.T., 1852; lived Pontotoc Co., I.T., 1859.
114. Tennessee Colbert. admitted to Monroe, 4 Oct 1829; lived Pontotoc Co., I.T., 1859.
115. Samuel Colbert. admitted to Monroe as "infant", 8 July 1832; was probably dead by 1859.
116. Turner Bynum. b. Pontotoc Co., Ms., ca 1819; admitted to Monroe, 19 Dec 1824; striker for blacksmith on Blue River, 1841; married Lucinda Dyer; issue:
 196. Nellie Bynum 200. Martha Bynum
 197. Elizabeth Bynum 201. Joseph Bynum
 198. Lena Bynum 202. Julia Bynum
 199. Mary Bynum 203. Benjamin Bynum
117. Elizabeth Bynum. admitted to Monroe, 19 Dec 1824; living, 1890.
118. John A. Bynum Jr. mentioned only in the will of his father, 1836.
119. Margaret Hinton James. b. Marshall Co., Ms., 1838; died I.T.; married 16 May 1854 to Dr. Henry Francis Murry, son of Robert and Margaret (Rutherford) Murry; he born Williamson Co., Tn., March 1819, d. 29 Dec 1909.
120. Amelia James. mentioned only in deed made by her grandmother, Mrs. Susan Colbert, on 22 March 1841.

121. Charles Francis Eastman Jr. mentioned in deed, 22 March 1841; living in 1860s.
122. Henry Colbert. married Lou Humphreys, dau. of R.J. Humphreys; she later married a Patterson; issue:
 204. Joseph Edwin Colbert 206. Dixie Holmes Colbert
 205. Harriet Colbert 207. Leila Colbert
 208. Mollie Colbert
123. Elvina Colbert. married a Fleetwood.
124. Emily Colbert. married a Terrell.
125. Elizabeth Colbert. married a Fletcher.
126. Albert D. Colbert. b. 1854; married Mary McCasland, dau. of Allen and Tellitha McCasland; issue:
 209. David Ward Colbert
127. Frank Colbert.
128. Ed Colbert.
129. William Colbert.
130. Joseph Colbert.
131. Jane Colbert.
132. Lavinia Colbert.
133. Benjamin Colbert. admitted to Monroe, 28 Nov 1828.
134. James Holmes Colbert. called "Holmes Colbert". b. Marshall Co., Ms., Oct., 1828; died Washington, D.C., 24 March 1872; buried Bloomfield Cemetery; married Elizabeth Love, dau. of Henry and Sarah Love; she b. 1830-1835, d. 1914; issue:
 210. Eula Colbert
 211. Eliphett Nott Colbert
135. Harriet Colbert. b. 1829; died Colbert, I.T., 30 Nov 1860; buried Bloomfield; married Dr. A.P. Eastman, a white man; he b. 1820, d. 1870; issue not known.
136. James "Brushy Jim" Colbert. b. Marshall Co., Ms., 6 Dec 1833; d. Savana, I.T., 13 Sept 1884; married (1) Mary Nelson, a Choctaw; married (2) Sil Blackburn; married (3) Katinka, Countess de Rudczinski, b. 1843 Berne, Switzerland, died Oct., 1925, Eureka Springs, Ark.; Katinka first married to O'Neal with issue Nina O'Neal; issue:
 212. James Eden Colbert
 213. Emil Franklin Colbert
 214. Oscar Colbert
 215. Amelia C. Colbert
 216. Theodore Colbert
137. Sophia Colbert. b. 1835; d. 1855 or 1856; married Charles Messick; issue:
 217. Nancy Caroline Messick
138. Christopher Columbus Colbert. called "Tum". b. 1833; died Indian Territory, 25 March 1883; married Nancy Bourland, dau. of John M. and Nancy M. Bourland; she b. 1844; issue:
 218. James Belden Colbert
 219. Samuel Tilden Colbert
 220. Thomas Rutherford Colbert
 221. Mary Eliza Colbert
 222. Lillie Katinka Colbert
 223. Carrie Colbert
 224. Mattie Colbert
 225. Vivian Colbert

139. Nathaniel Colbert. married (1) Elsie; married (2) Malinda McCurtain, dau. of William and Sawicha McCurtain; issue:
 226. Dave Colbert 229. Agnes Colbert
 227. Sukey Colbert 230. Joe Colbert
 228. Annie Colbert 231. Gill Colbert
140. Rebecca Colbert. married William Venson Alexander; issue:
 232. Bert Alexander 235. Robert Alexander
 233. Shelby Alexander 236. Leslie Alexander
 234. Perry Alexander
141. Jenny Lind Colbert. married (1) William Venson Alexander; married (2) Joe B. Moore; issue:
 237. Mary Alexander
142. George Washington Colbert. b. Marshall Co., Ms., 1838; died Antlers, I.T., 26 Nov 1899; married (1) Elizabeth Sorrells, b. Ft. Smith, Ark., died Nelson, Okla.; married (2) Dora McCarty, dau. of William McCarty; she b. 1868; issue:
 238. Elba Colbert 240. Henry C. Colbert
 239. George W. Colbert Jr. 241. Rufus Colbert
 242. Rutha Colbert.
143. Mary Colbert. married Dr. P. Loman.
144. Atwood Colbert. b. 1834; d. 1868.
145. Sarah Love Colbert. b. 1844; d. 1876; married Hilburn Harrison.
146. Caroline Colbert. died 1900; married David Spears.
147. Isabella Colbert. b. 1850; d. 1879.
148. Ellen A. Colbert. b. 1857; d. 1904; married Alexander L. Stephens.
149. Virginia Colbert. b. 1846; d. 1884; married L.P. Parshall.
150. Wilson McAlester Colbert. b. 1860; d. 1862.
151. Delilah Colbert. b. 1864; d. 1886; married L.P. Parshall.
152. Ed F. Colbert. b. 1863; living at Sulphur, 1903; married Lena Hereford, dau. of John and Tibbee Hereford; she b. 1866; she later married John Taylor.
153. David Calhoun Burney. b. Marshall or Chickasaw Co., Ms.; died I.T., 1870; married Lucy James in Mississippi; she died I.T., 1845; married (2) Emily Love Roark, b. 1827, d. 1884, dau. of Isaac Love; issue:
 243. Benjamin Crooks Burney 246. Nancy Jane Burney
 244. Wesley Burney 247. Rebecca Burney
 245. Edward Sehon Burney 248. Mary C. Burney
154. Charlotte Burney. married Benjamin Love, son of Thomas and Ema-hotah Love; he b. 1795, d. I.T., 4 July 1849; issue:
 249. Narcissa Love 252. Mary Jane Love
 250. Agnes Love 253. Melvina Love
 251. Matilda Love 254. Emily Love
155. Levi Burney. mentioned only on 1818 census.
156. Cyrus Harris. b. Pontotoc Co., Ms., 22 Aug 1817; d. Mill Creek, I.T., 6 Jan 1888; first Governor of the Chickasaw Nation; married (1) Kizzia Kemp (2) Tenesy (3) Hetty Frazier (4) Nancy Thomas; issue:
 255. Lucy Harris 472. Mary Jane Harris
157. Jane McGee. b. Pontotoc Co., Ms., 1820; died Boggy Depot, I.T., 1857; married William Richard Guy, a white man, who died at Paris, Texas, 1859; issue:

256. William Malcolm Guy 261.
 257. Serena Guy 262.
 258. 263.
 259. 264.
 260.
158. Susan Colbert. married John M. Temple.
 159. John Taylor Potts. b. 1842; married (1) Emily Love; married (2) Mary Barrett, b. 1860; issue:
 265. Goldy Potts 268. Mary M. Potts
 266. John T. Potts 269. Benjamin A. Potts
 267. Allie M. Potts
160. Joseph Brevard Potts III. married Nancy Valinda Davis; Joseph b. Ala., Feb., 1856; Nancy, b. Tx, 1864; issue:
 270. Georgia Jewell Potts 274. Joseph B. Potts IV
 271. Euna Pearl Potts 275. Ruby M. Potts
 273. William F. Potts 276. (fm) Potts
161. Sallie Potts. married Daniel H. Collins.
 162. Mary Potts. married John Jefferson Collins.
 163. Pitman Colbert Folsom.
 164. Catherine Folsom.
 165. Mary Colbert. married Thornton Downing.
 166. Holmes Colbert. b. Colbert, I.T., 25 Feb 1863; died Colbert, Okla.; married Ella Overton, dau. of Benjamin F. Overton; she b. 24 Sept 1869, d. 8 Nov 1896; buried Overton Cem.; he married (2) Bessie Hobson, dau. of R.W. Hobson; issue:
 277. Frank Overton Colbert 279. Marion Estelle Colbert
 278. Janie Estelle Colbert
167. Texana Colbert. married Winter Bradley.
 168. Eugenia Colbert. married Lucian Perry.
 169. James Colbert.
 170. Mary Colbert. married Wyatt S. Hawkins.
 171. Frances Colbert. married W.M. Baker.
 172. Harley Eugene Colbert. b. Colbert, I.T., 15 June 1881; d. Colbert, 23 Oct 1914; married 20 Sept 1902 Euna Pearl Potts; issue:
 280. Frankie Colbert 282. Nancy Louise Colbert
 281. Mildred Francille Colbert 283. Philip Eugene Colbert
173. Richard Colbert.
 174. Martin Colbert. b. Colbert, I.T., 1849; died Colbert, 15 Oct 1899; married Mattie Zora Perry, dau. of John F. Perry; she b. 1863; issue:
 284. Velary Etta Colbert 288. Cecil Calvin Colbert
 285. Cora Eugenia Colbert 289. Tolbert Ray Colbert
 286. Martin Colbert Jr. 290. Mamie Marie Colbert
 287. Benjamin F. Colbert 291. Luther Earl Colbert
175. David Wall Colbert. b. Colbert, I.T., 24 July 1854; died Colbert, 15 Feb 1890; married Rebecca Harris, b. 21 Oct 1858, d. 4 June 1931; issue:
 292. Corn Walls Colbert 294. Lelah Colbert
 293. Lillie Colbert 295. Nancy Colbert
176. Albert Pike Colbert. b. 23 Oct 1858.

177. Charles Colbert. b. 20 May 1863; married Abbie Davis, dau. of John P. and Mary Davis; she b. 1873; issue:
 296. Bruce Colbert 299. Henrietta Colbert
 297. Pauline Colbert 300. Francis Colbert
 298. Douglas Colbert 301. James A. Colbert
178. Walter Colbert. b. 17 June 1865; married Henrietta C. Juzan, b. 1863; issue:
 302. Czarina M. Colbert 304. Linda Elaine Colbert
 303. Walter Cevera Colbert 305. F.H. Colbert
179. Benjamin H. Colbert. b. Bryan Co., Okla., 24 March 1873; served in Spanish-American War under Theodore Roosevelt and as a U.S. Marshall; married 12 Dec 1899 Agnes Fisher, b. 1883; issue:
 306. Theodore Colbert
180. Henrietta Luceta Colbert. b. 11 Sept 1856; d. 3 June 1910; married Regan Webster Jennings, b. Tx., 1857; issue:
 307. Daisy D. Jennings 310. Alvers Ryan Jennings
 308. Theni Jennings 311. James A. Jennings
 309. Lovica E. Jennings 312. Johnny G. Jennings
181. Lovica Colbert. b. 2 Aug 1868; married 24 Feb 1886 Hiram McBride.
182. Czarina Colbert. b. 18 Jan 1871; married 6 Nov 1894 Michael Conlan.
183. Ada Colbert.
184. Ason Colbert.
185. Isabella Rebecca Colbert. b. Colbert, I.T., 6 April 1865; died McAlester, Okla., 2 Aug 1958; married John Calhoun Yarbrough on 1 Jan 1880; issue:
 313. Meta B. Yarbrough 316. Clarence Yarbrough
 314. Eunice Yarbrough 317. John C. Yarbrough Jr.
 315. Elizabeth Yarbrough
186. Clarence Colbert. b. Colbert, I.T., 1860; married (1) Mary Watkins; married (2) Rosabelle Davis; she b. 1860; issue:
 318. Lewis C. Colbert 321. Clarence Colbert Jr.
 319. Lena Colbert 322. Minnie Belle Colbert
 320. Vera Colbert
187. Mattie Carter. b. 1862; d. 1950; married Benjamin F. Overton; he b. Miss., 2 Nov 1836, d. I.T., 8 Feb 1884; Governor of the Chickasaw Nation; issue:
 323. Clemmie Overton 324. Frankie Overton
188. Colbert Carter Jr. b. 1865; d. 1899+.
189. Nora Colbert. b. 1886.
190. Daugherty Colbert. b. 1890.
191. Richard Floyd Colbert. b. 23 Sept 1895; living, 1937.
192. Abijah Colbert. b. 1897.
193. Laura D. Colbert. b. 21 Aug 1902.
194. Daugherty Colbert. b. 1871; d. 1928; married Nettie Powe, dau. of William Henry Row; issue:
 325. Liza Lessie Colbert 327. Dinovo A. Colbert
 326. Harley Humphrey Colbert 328. Zeno Penner Colbert
195. Walton (Wally) Colbert. b. 1863; married Louisa Brown, dau. of Jesse Brown; she b. March, 1868; issue:
 329. Amanda Colbert
 330. Mimmie Colbert
 331. Frank Colbert
 332. Serena Colbert

333. Nora Colbert
 334. Salina Colbert
 335. Mack Colbert
 196. Nellie Bynum. married Douglas H. Johnston, Chickasaw Governor.
 197. Elizabeth Bynum. married Will Bradley.
 198. Lena Bynum. married Thomas Jefferson Thompson.
 199. Mary Bynum. b. 1847; d. 1938; married George W. Harkins; issue:
 338. Charley Harkins
 200. Martha Bynum. b. 1844; d. 1877; married Overton Love (1823-1906).
 201. Joseph Bynum. b. June, 1855; d. 1941; married (1) Alice, dau. of Peter P. Pitchlynn; married (2) Gertrude Elkins, b. TX, Jan., 1875; issue:
 339. Lula Bynum
 340. Ramonia Bynum
 341. Lucy D. Bynum
 342. Charles R. Bynum
 343. Joseph R. Bynum
 344. Netty Bynum
 202. Julia Bynum. married Ben McLish.
 203. Benjamin Bynum. died young.
 204. Joseph Edwin Colbert. b. 8 Oct 1857; d. 20 Nov 1945; married (1) Elizabeth Ingram (2) Nora Elizabeth Grayson, b. 1869; issue:
 345. Annie Rennie Colbert
 346. Nancy Louisa Colbert
 347. Henry Tuttle Colbert
 348. Lettie Mae Colbert
 349. Coseta Colbert
 350. Joseph Edwin Colbert Jr.
 351. Richard Colbert
 352. William Blanchard Colbert
 353. Leona Ramona Colbert
 354. Dixie Arthur Colbert
 355. Gordon Elmo Colbert
 205. Harriet Colbert. married Joe Cordell.
 206. Dixie Holmes Colbert. b. 16 June 1863; married Nellie Bratton in 1889; she b. Ark, 1873; issue:
 356. Bulah Colbert
 357. Mamie Colbert
 358. Holmes Colbert
 359. Zona Colbert
 360. Ben Colbert
 207. Leila Colbert. married Arthur Scobey, Robert McGeehee.
 208. Mollie Colbert. married Robert Simpson, Sweet Price.
 209. David Ward Colbert. b. 1898; d. 4 May 1899.
 210. Eula Colbert. b. 1870; married J.F. Myers, b. 1855; issue:
 361. Jayette Myers
 211. Eliphett Nott Colbert. b. 21 Sept 1856; d. 21 Nov 1863; buried Bloomfield Cemetery.
 212. James Eden Colbert. b. 1857; d. Oklahoma, 1929; married Nina O'Neill, dau. of O'Neill and Katrinka, Countess de Rudczinski; Nina b. 1868; issue:
 362. James Eden Colbert
 363. Leila Colbert
 364. Holmes Colbert
 365. Zona Colbert
 366. Ben Colbert
 213. Emil Franklin Colbert. b. 1877; d. Ardmore, Okla., 1965; married Annie Elizabeth Reynolds; she b. 17 March 1879; d. 12 Sept 1948; both buried Rose Hill Cemetery; issue:
 367. James Henry Colbert
 368. Paul C. Colbert
 369. Opal Colbert
 370. Hazel Colbert
 214. Oscar Colbert. b. 1880; d. California, 1966; married Eula Thompson, Orva Robinson; issue:
 371. Oscar Colbert Jr.
 372. Eula Colbert
 373. Mildred Colbert
 374. R.G. Colbert
 375. Helen Colbert
 376. Holmes Belden Colbert
 377. Virginia Colbert
 378. Bill T. Colbert

215. Amelia C. Colbert. b. 6 Dec. 1867; d. 25 Oct 1927; married Dr. Andrew C. Blackwood, b. 8 Aug 1849, d. 25 March 1899; issue:
 379. Georgia M. Blackwood
 380. Robert G. Blackwood
 381. Nora I. Blackwood
 382. Jemima Colbert Blackwood
 383. Mary Blackwood
 384. Andrew C. Blackwood Jr.
216. Theodore Colbert. b. 1863; d. 1958; married Mary E. Ward, dau. of Charles and Mollie Ward; issue:
 385. Theodore Ward Colbert
 386. Velma Colbert
 387. Harold W. Colbert
217. Nancy Caroline Messick. b. 9 Oct 1855; d. 15 Feb 1956; married George Walker Pound, 9 March 1875; issue:
 388. Thomas Walker Pound
 389. Alice Pound
 390. Georgia Pound
 391. Nina Pound
 392. Willie Pound
 393. Florence Pound
 394. Lizzie Pound
 395. Madge Pound
218. James Belden Colbert. b. 1868; married Ida Wall; she b. 1870; issue:
 396. Holmes Colbert
 397. Gladdes Colbert
 398. Mattie Mae Colbert
 399. Clarence Cadian Colbert
219. Samuel Tilden Colbert. b. 1876; d. Utah; issue unknown.
220. Thomas Rutherford (Oad) Colbert. b. 1877; d. 1939; married Lillie Stubblefield, dau. of George and Sallie Stubblefield; she b. 1876.
221. Mary Eliza Colbert. b. 1879; married Birton A. Barnes; issue:
 400. Samuel Paul Barnes
222. Lillie Katrinka Colbert. b. 1882; d. 23 July 1900; married Nelson C. Williams, son of G.W. Williams; he b. 1870.
223. Carrie Colbert. b. 1874.
224. Mattie Colbert. died young.
225. Vivian Colbert.
226. Dave Colbert. b. 1875; married Lena Edwards, a Choctaw.
227. Sukey Colbert. b. 1890.
228. Annie Colbert. b. 1891.
229. Agnes Colbert. b. 1893.
230. Joe Colbert. b. 1896.
231. Gill Colbert. b. 24 Aug 1901.
- 232.-236. Alexanders. no information.
237. Mary Alexander.
238. Elba Colbert. b. Hickory Grove, near Nelson, I.T., 1867; married Sharp; living, 1937.
239. George W. Colbert Jr. b. 1891; d. 20 Aug 1901.
240. Henry C. Colbert. b. 1893.
241. Rufus Colbert. b. 1898.
242. Rutha Colbert. b. 1898.
243. Benjamin Crooks Burney. b. Shreveport, La., 15 Jan 1844; d. Aylesworth, I.T., 1892; married Louisa Alberson Love, dau. of Isaac Alberson and widow of Sam Love Jr.; issue:
 401. Paul Burney
 402. Benjamin Burney
 403. Arvilla Burney
 404. Ada Burney
 405. Susan Burney

244. Wesley Burney. b. 1849; d. 1912; married Mary Eliza Gaines, dau. of James T. Gaines and Sally Love; married (2) Clifford Ponder, b. Ga., 1861; issue:
 406. Albert Sidney Burney 411. Valley Burney
 407. Sally Burney 412. Blanche Burney
 408. Myrtle Mehota Burney 413. Wessie Burney
 409. Julian Burney 414. Clay Burney
 410. Una Burney 415. Douglas J. Burney
245. Edward Sehon Burney. b. 1861; married Ada Cross; issue:
 416. Wessie Burney 420. Effie Burney
 417. Joseph Burney 421. Ada Burney
 418. Edward Burney 422. Alice Burney
 419. Overton Burney
246. Nancy Jane Burney. married John William Archerd Jr.; she b. 1863.
 247. Rebecca Burney. b. April, 1841; married James Jackson McAlester, b. Ark., Oct., 1841; lived McAlester, I.T.; issue:
 423. William McAlester
248. Mary C. Burney. b. 1846; d. 1872; married (1) Albert H. Gaines (2) Benjamin F. Overton.
249. Narcissa Love. married John B. Love, George D. James.
 250. Agnes Love. married George D. James.
 251. Matilda Love. married George A. Criner.
 252. Mary Jane Love. married B.F. Allen, William Gaddis.
 253. Melvina Love. married ?.
 254. Emily Love. married John Taylor Potts (see No. 159).
 255. Lucy Harris.
256. William Malcolm Guy. b. Boggy Depot, I.T., 4 Feb 1845; d. Sulphur, Okla., 2 June 1918; Governor of the Chickasaw Nation; married Maggie, b. 1872; issue:
 424. Serena J. Guy 425. Angeline Guy
257. Serena Guy. b. April, 1843; married Carter; issue:
 426. Charles D. Carter
- 258.-264. Guys. no information.
265. Goldy Potts. b. 1882.
 266. John Taylor Potts Jr. b. 1890.
 267. Allie M. Potts. b. 1892.
 268. Mary M. Potts. b. 1895.
 269. Benjamin A. Potts. b. 1897.
 270. Georgia Jewell Potts. married Corn Walls Colbert.
 271. Euna Pearl Potts. b. 1881. married Harley Eugene Colbert.
 272. xxxxxxxx
 273. William F. Potts. b. 1887.
 274. Joseph Brevard Potts b. 1889.
 275. Ruby M. Potts. b. 1896.
 276. (fm) Potts. married Bass; issue:
 427. Frances Bass
277. Frank Overton Colbert. b. Riverside, I.T., 6 Aug 1895; died Fort Lynn, Colorado, 20 March 1953; married 15 Jan 1923 to Kate Landon; she b. 19 Feb 1899; issue:
 428. Robert Holmes Colbert.
278. Janie Estelle Colbert. b. 1899; d. 7 July 1900
 279. Marion Estelle Colbert. b. 6 June 1901.
 280. Frankie Colbert. married Murray.
 281. Mildred Francille Colbert. married Jack Connelly.
 282. Nancy Louise Colbert. married (1) Clyde Taylor (2) Paul Crews

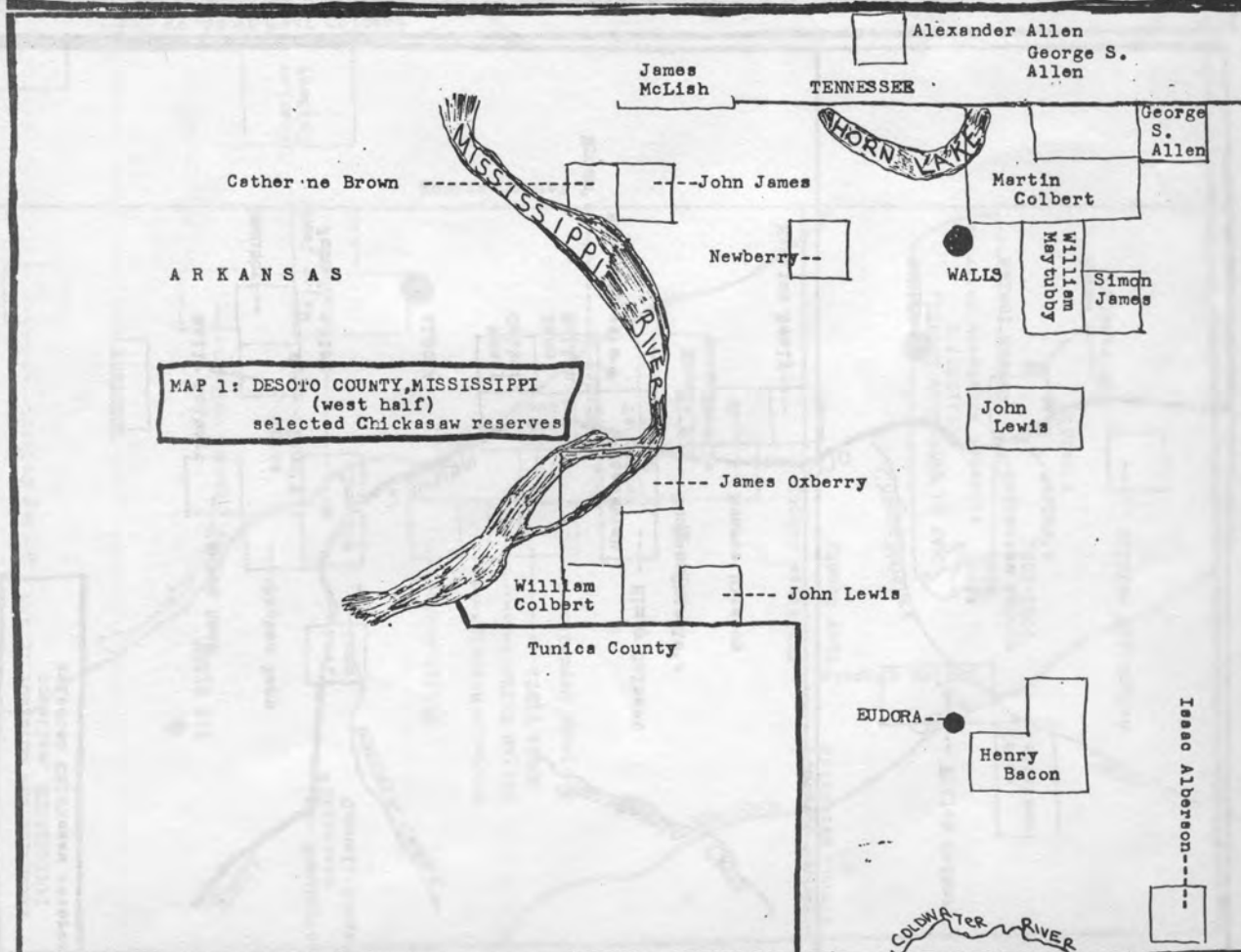
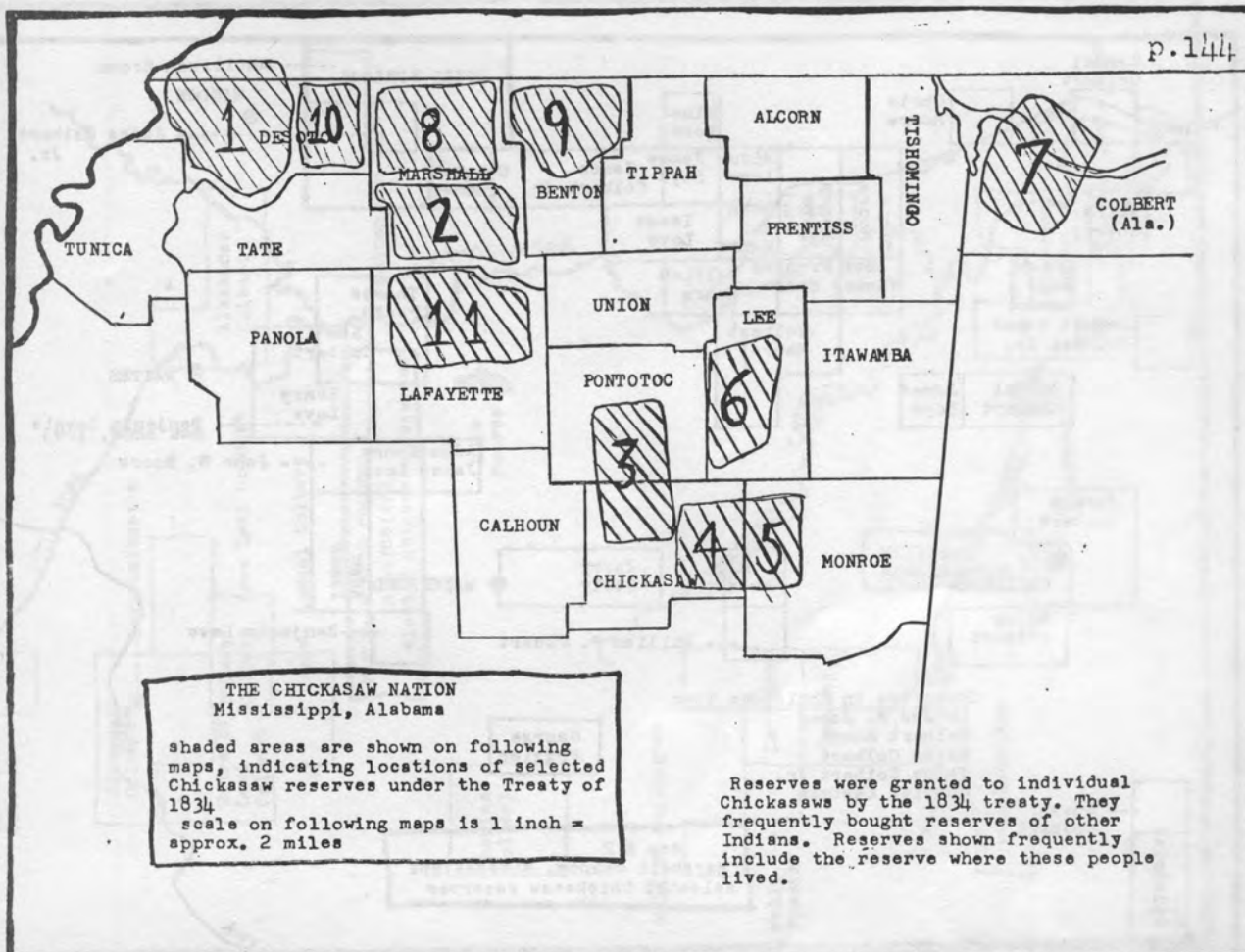
283. Philip Eugene Colbert. married (1) Kerlean Lynn (2) Norma Katherine Hodges; issue:
 429. Philip Eugene Colbert 431. Dorrit Colbert
 430. Kay Colbert
284. Velary Etta Colbert. b. 1883; married James L. Nichols.
 285. Cora Eugenia Colbert. b. 1885; married Wesley D. Gooch.
 286. Martin Colbert Jr. b. 1886.
 287. Benjamin F. Colbert. b. 1887.
 288. Cecil Calvin Colbert. b. 1889.
 289. Tolbert Ray Colbert. b. 1891.
 290. Mamie Marie Colbert. b. 1894.
 291. Luther Earl Colbert. b. 1900.
 292. Corn Walls Colbert. b. Colbert, I.T., 4 Dec 1880; d. 9 Nov 1960; married (1) Georgia Jewell Potts (2) Louise Talley (3) Anna R. Kin; issue:
 432. Dorothy Colbert 433. Horace Colbert
293. Lillie Colbert. b. 16 May 1878; married 15 Dec 1897 to Horace Marshall.
 294. Lelah Colbert. b. 5 Nov 1882; married 12 June 1906 to Charlie Green.
 295. Nancy Colbert. married 10 Dec 1902 to Daniel Collins.
 296. Bruce Colbert.
 297. Pauline Colbert.
 298. Douglas Colbert. b. 7 Dec 1905.
 299. Henrietta Colbert. b. 2 Aug 1908.
 300. Francis Colbert. b. 15 Dec 1911.
 301. James A. Colbert. b. 24 June 1913.
 302. Czarina M. Colbert. b. 30 July 1897.
 303. Walter Cevera Colbert. b. 15 Sept 1898; married 4 Feb 1923 to Ruth Henbry.
 304. Linda Elaine Colbert. b. 27 July 1894.
 305. F.H. Colbert. b. 28 April 1904.
 306. Theodore Colbert. b. 15 Sept 1900.
 307. Daisy D. Jennings. b. 1879.
 308. Theni Jennings. b. 1880.
 309. Louvica E. Jennings. b. 1885.
 310. Alvers Ryan Jennings. b. 1888. married Vera Burks; issue:
 434. Jane Jennings
311. James A. Jennings. b. 1891.
 312. Johnny G. Jennings. b. 1896.
 313. -317. Yarbroughs. no information.
 318. Lewis C. Colbert. b. 1883.
 319. Lena Colbert. b. 1888.
 320. Vera Colbert. b. 1890.
 321. Clarence Colbert Jr. b. 1892.
 322. Minnie Belle Colbert. b. 26 Feb 1901.
 323. Clemmie Overton.
 324. Frankie Overton.
 325. Liza Lessie Colbert. b. 1895.
 326. Harley Humphrey Colbert. b. 1898.
 327. Dinovo A. Colbert. b. 1899.
 328. Zeno Penner Colbert. b. 1901.

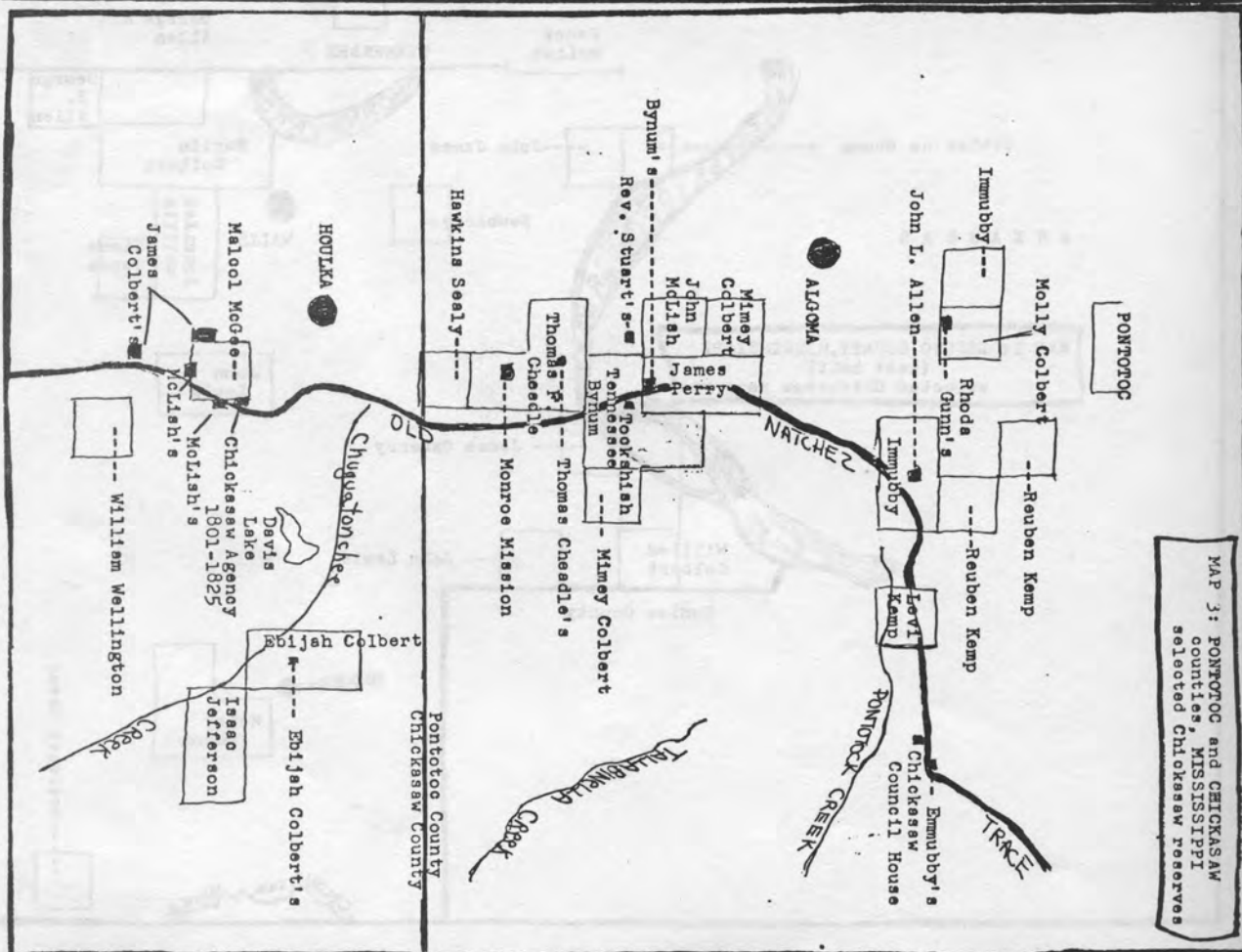
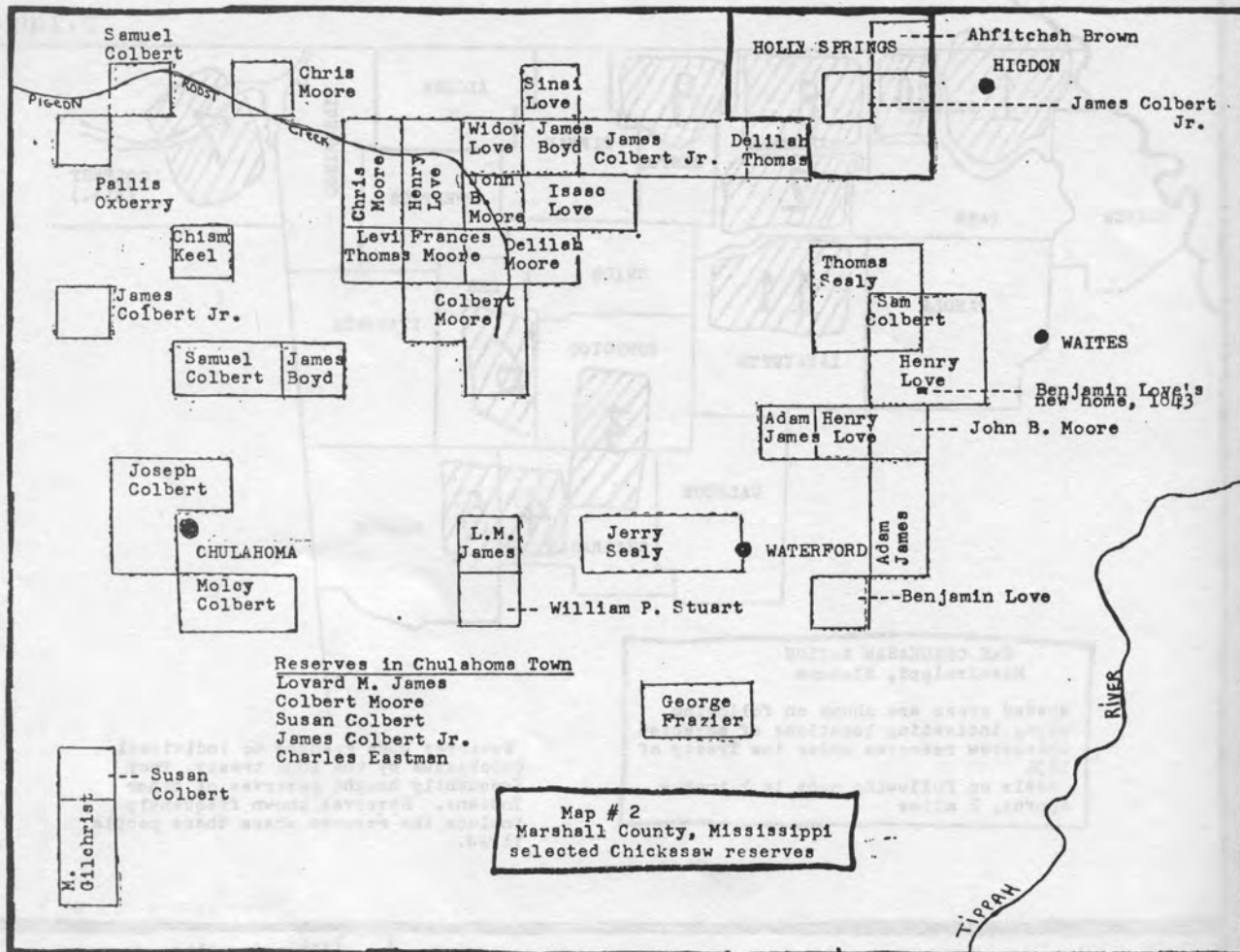
329. Amanda Colbert. b. 1887.
330. Minnie Colbert. b. 1889.
331. Frank Colbert. b. 1890.
332. Serena Colbert. b. 1892.
333. Nora Colbert. b. 1893.
334. Salina Colbert. b. 1896.
335. Mack Colbert. b. 1897.
336. Zeno Colbert. b. 1899; d. 8 Oct 1900.
337. Guy Colbert. b. 17 July 1902.
338. Charley Harkins. b. 1872, d. 1939.
339. Lula Bynum. b. 1883.
340. Ramonia Bynum. b. 1887.
341. Lucy D. Bynum. b. 1889.
342. Charles R. Bynum. b. 1892.
343. Joseph R. Bynum. b. 1897.
344. Netty Bynum. b. 1899.
345. Annie Rennie Colbert. b. 1887.
346. Nancy Louisa Colbert. b. 1888.
347. Henry Tuttle Colbert. b. 1891.
348. Lettie Mae Colbert. b. 1894.
349. Coseta Colbert. b. 1898.
350. Joseph Edwin Colbert Jr. b. 1899.
351. Richard Colbert.
352. William Blanchard Colbert.
353. Leona Ramona Colbert.
354. Dixie Arthur Colbert.
355. Gordon Elmo Colbert.
356. Bulah Colbert. b. 1891.
357. Mamie Colbert. b. 1893.
358. Holmes Colbert. b. 1895; attorney at Sulphur, 1937.
359. Elmer Colbert. b. 1897.
360. Effie Colbert. b. 1897.
361. Jayette Myers.
362. James Eden Colbert. b. 30 March 1884; married Alice Hendon; issue:
 435. Charles Ralph Colbert
363. Leila Colbert. b. 1887.
364. Holmes Colbert. b. 1889; lived Kiowa, Okla, 1967.
365. Zona Colbert. b. 1897; married Hensarling.
366. Ben Colbert. b. 1900; d. 1918.
367. James Henry Colbert. b. 9 June 1904; d. 13 Feb 1976; married on
 30 May 1932 to Elaine Crossthwaite, b. 15 Jan 1910; issue:
 436. Tania Colbert
368. Paul C. Colbert. married Lois Atkinson.
369. Opal Colbert. married Doyle Caldwell.
370. Hazel Colbert.
371. Oscar Colbert Jr.
372. Eula Colbert.
373. Mildred Colbert.
374. R.G. Colbert.
375. Helen Colbert.
376. Holmes Belden Colbert.
377. Virginia Colbert.
378. Bill T. Colbert.

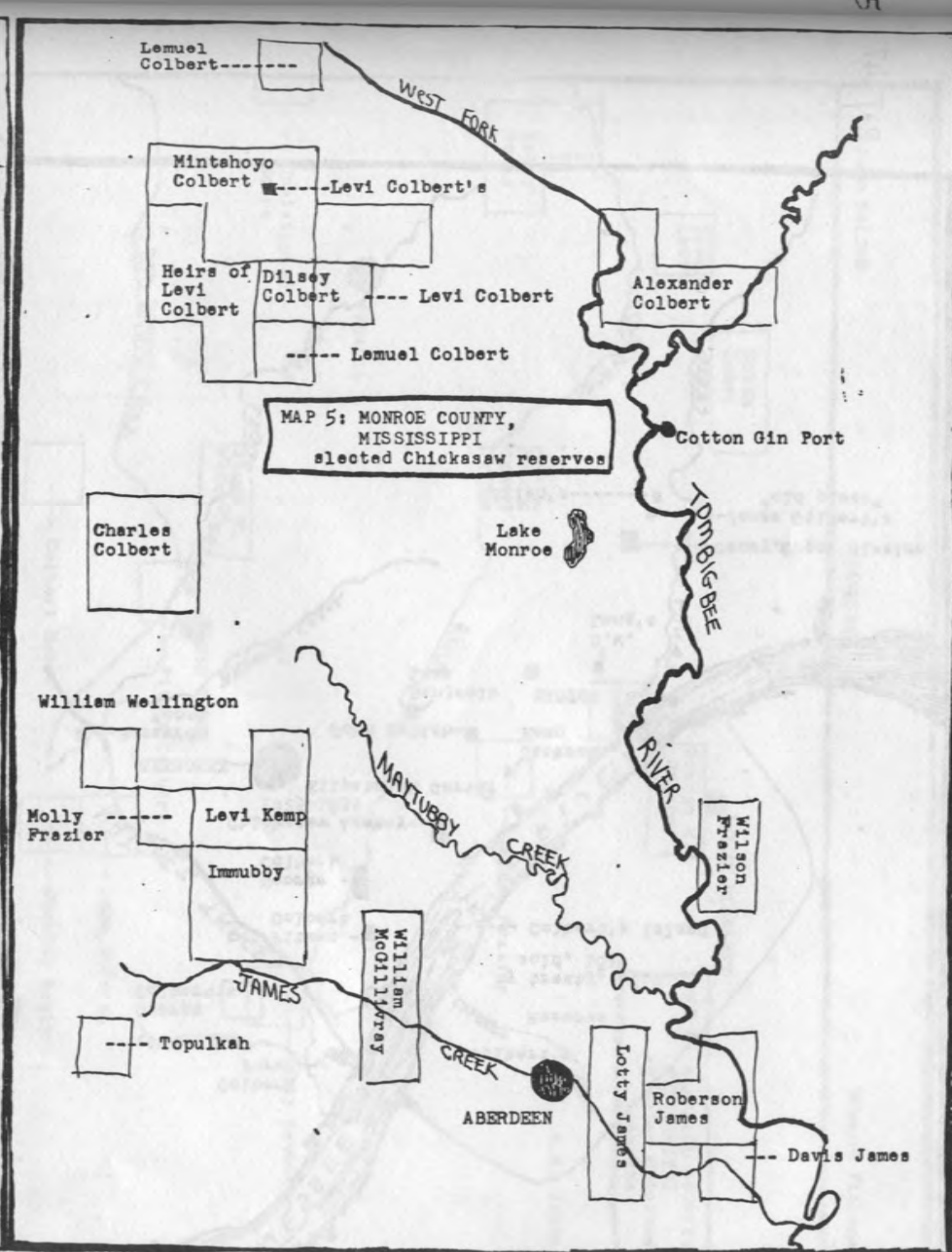
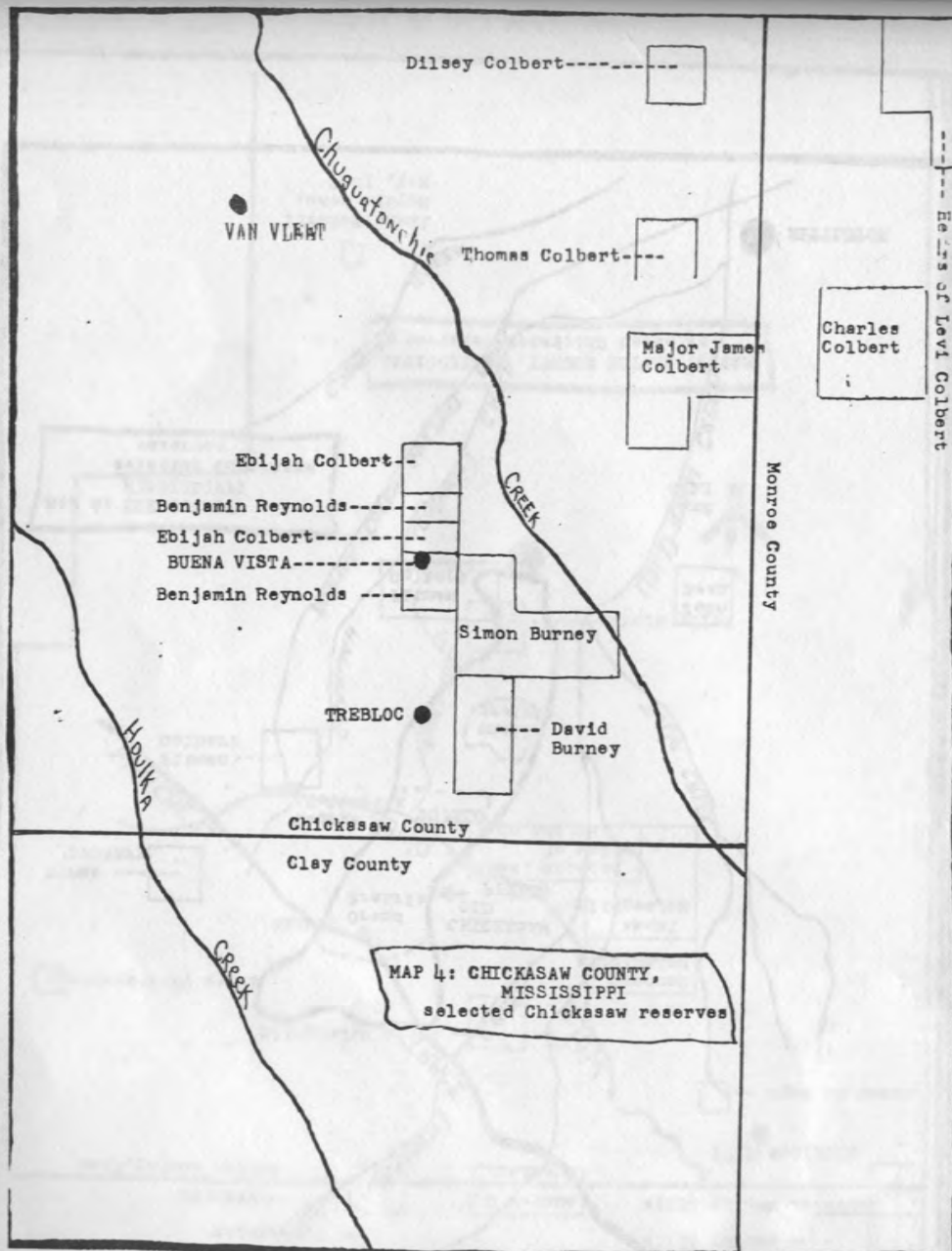
379. Georgia M. Blackwood. b. 18 Feb 1886; d. 30 Nov 1970; married James Emit Wagner, b. 19 Dec 1886, d. 3 Aug 1952.
380. Robert G. Blackwood. b. June 1888; d. 13 June 1904.
381. Nora I. Blackwood. b. 17 Oct 1891; married Jack Taflinger.
382. Jemima Colbert Blackwood. b. 16 July 1893; d. 5 March 1974; married Harley Tolley.
383. Mary Blackwood. b. 16 Feb 1896; d. 28 May 1897.
384. Andrew C. Blackwood Jr. b. 8 May 1899; d. 27 Feb 1961; married Julia Garner.
385. Theodore Ward Colbert. b. 1899.
386. Velma Colbert. b. 22 Nov 1901.
387. Harold W. Colbert.
388. Thomas Walker Pound. b. 18 Dec. 1875; d. Oct. 1908; married Mattie Shepherd; she b. 17 Nov 1868; d. 15 June 1937; issue:
 437. James Walker Theo Pound.
 438. Ruby A. Pound
 439. Marie Pound
 440. William V. Pound
 441. Carrie Louise Pound
389. Alice Pound. b. 15 Feb 1883; d. 1 March 1963; married Lee Whitfield McMorries.
390. Georgia Pound. b. 1 April 1884; d. 20 Jan 1922; married Lee Pollock; he b. 26 Nov 1879, d. 21 April 1970.
391. Nina Pound. b. 9 Sept 1885; d. 30 May 1962; married John Wesley Brown, b. 11 Feb 1879, d. March 1956.
392. Willie Pound. b. 4 Jan 1888; d. Jan 1907; married Vern Weghtman.
393. Florence Pound. b. Nov., 1889; d. Nov. 1974; married Wilson Samuel O'Neal Sr.
394. Lizzie Pound. b. 5 May 1892; d. 9 Nov 1918; married Thomas Patrick Wilson, b. 15 Aug 1890, d. 19 June 1932.
395. Madge Pound. b. 1 July 1894; d. 20 April 1974; married John Clay Ladd; married (2) Frank Hagen Anderson, b. 29 Sept 1890, d. 29 Aug 1975; issue:
 442. Carolyn Ladd
 443. Billie Lou Ladd
396. Holmes Colbert. b. 1887.
397. Gladdes Colbert. b. 21 Jan 1902.
398. Mattie May Colbert.
399. Clarence Cadian Colbert.
400. Samuel Paul Barnes.
- 401.-409. Burneys. no information.
410. Una Burney. b. 1885.
411. Valley Burney. b. 1887.
412. Blanche Burney. b. 1889.
413. Wessie Burney. b. 1891.
414. Clay Burney. b. 1894.
415. Douglas J. Burney. b. 1899.
416. -422. Burneys. no information.
423. William McAlester. b. Nov., 1880.
424. Serena J. Guy. b. 1890.
425. Angeline Guy. b. 1892.
426. Charles D. Carter. b. Aug., 1868; married Getrude, b. Tx., Nov., 1872.

427. Frances Bass. married Wierman; lived Topeka, Kansas, 1974.
 428. Robert Holmes Colbert. b. Newlly, France, 8 April 1926.
 429. Philip Eugene Colbert.
 430. Kay Colbert.
 431. Dorrit Colbert.
 432. Dorothy Colbert. married Ernest Dyer.
 433. Horace Colbert. married Edith Brubin.
 434. Jane Jennings. married Dick Wegener; lives Wichita Falls, Texas.
 435. Charles Ralph Colbert. b. Dow, Okla., 23 June 1921; married Rosemary F. Schrafft; she d. May, 1954; married (2) Frances B. Stern; she d. 19 April 1962; Charles lives Metairie, La.; issue:
 444. Kathryn H. Colbert 446. Thomas M. Colbert
 445. James Eden Colbert
 436. Tania Colbert. b. 30 Jan 1934; married Allan E. Patrick; he born 30 April 1930; issue:
 447. Dee Dee Patrick
 448. Diane Patrick
 437. James Walker Theo Pound. b. 10 Jan 1902; d. 13 Jan 1967.
 438. Ruby A. Pound. b. 27 Oct 1898; d. 20 Sept 1899.
 439. Marie Pound.
 440. William V. Pound. b. 23 Aug 1905; married Dolly Hall.
 441. Carrie Louise Pound. b. 17 May 1908; married Haskell Fugh.
 442. Carolyn Ladd. b. 16 June 1912; married Fred Mills; issue:
 449. Frank Kirby Mills
 443. Billie Lou Ladd. b. 12 Nov 1913; married Ova Hoy Grantham, b. 19 Sept 1911, d. 27 Oct 1942; married (2) R. Gladish, b. 30 Jan 1917, d. 18 Oct 1968; issue:
 450. Albert Clyde Grantham
 451. John Shane Grantham
 452. Carolyn Roth Grantham
 453. Paul Colbert Grantham
 444. Kathryn H. Colbert.
 445. James Eden Colbert.
 446. Thomas M. Colbert.
 447. Dee Dee Patrick. b. 10 Sept 1956; married Alan Chaney; issue:
 454. Philip Chaney
 455. Emily Chaney
 448. Diane Patrick. b. 26 Jan 1960.
 449. Frank Kirby Mills. b. 23 Dec 1930; d. 26 Oct 1933.
 450. Albert Clyde Grantham. b. 6 Nov 1932; married Jeri Yvonne Porter, b. 25 Oct 1935; issue:
 456. Michael Shane Grantham 458. Amy Ann Grantham
 457. Lori Lea Grantham
 451. John Shane Grantham. b. 11 Jan 1935; married Connie Lee Goldhardt; b. 24 Jan 1939; issue:
 459. John Shane Grantham Jr. 461. Eric Francis Grantham
 460. Heather Marie Grantham 462. Holly Louise Grantham
 452. Carolyn Roth Grantham. b. 21 Dec 1938; married Billy Bryant Wright; he b. 5 Aug 1939; issue:
 463. Margaret Caroline Wright 466. Allison Anne Wright
 464. William Jason Wright 467. Ethan Andrew Wright
 465. Christopher Matthew Wright

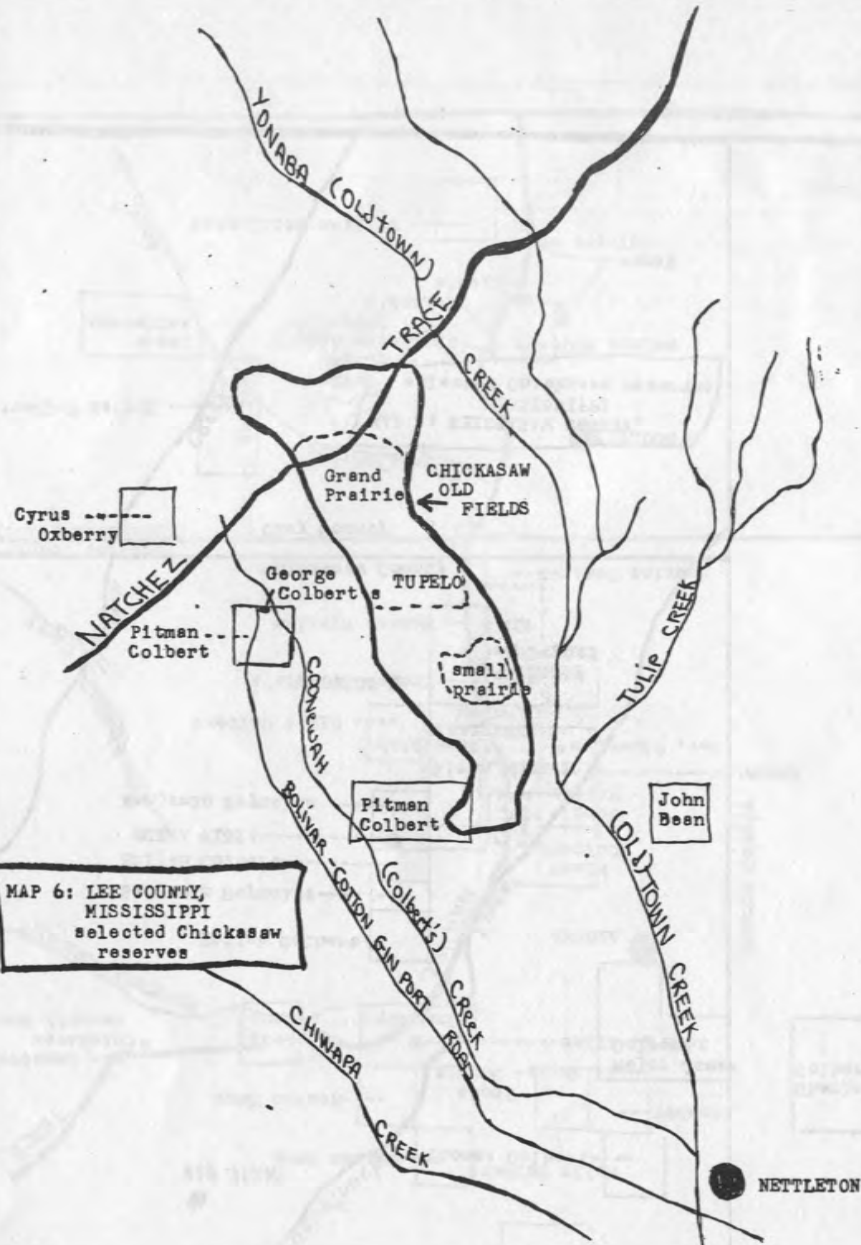
453. Paul Colbert Grantham. b. 21 Dec 1938; married Susan Borchers, b. 25 July 1940; issue:
 468. Jeanne Christina Grantham
 469. John Colbert Grantham
 470. Paul Hagen Grantham
454. Philip Chaney. b. 1980.
 455. Emily Chaney. b. 1983.
 456. Michael Shane Grantham. b. 25 Sept 1958.
 457. Lori Lea Grantham. b. 30 June 1962; married Robert L. Cox; issue:
 471. Trent Cox
458. Amy Ann Grantham. b. 21 March 1973.
 459. John Shane Grantham Jr. b. 3 Aug 1961.
 460. Heather Marie Grantham. b. 11 Feb 1966.
 461. Eric Francis Grantham. b. 6 July 1967.
 462. Holly Louise Grantham. b. 6 July 1967.
 463. Margaret Caroline Wright. b. 21 Sept 1961.
 464. William Jason Wright. b. 21 June 1963.
 465. Christopher Matthew Wright. b. 9 July 1964.
 466. Allison Anne Wright. b. 9 July 1966.
 467. Ethan Andrew Wright. b. 5 April 1968.
 468. Jeanne Christina Grantham. b. 28 Dec 1967.
 469. John Colbert Grantham. b. 20 Aug 1969.
 470. Paul Hagen Grantham. b. 14 Nov 1970.
 471. Trent Cox. b. 10 Jan 1984.
 472. Mary Jane Harris. married Jefferson Cravatt; issue:
 473. Sophia Cravatt
473. Sophia Cravatt. married Edward Armstrong Potts, cousin to Joseph Brevard Potts; married (2) Japtha Fry; issue:
 474. Lula Potts
 475. Sophia Fry
 476. Sammie Fry
474. Lula Potts. b. Feb., 1877; d. 10 Feb 1977; married Guy Keel, son of Johnson Keel and Winey Pickens (da. of Edmund Pickens); Guy b. May, 1871; issue:
 477. Overton Keel
 478. William Simon Keel
 479. Cecil Keel
 480. Louis Colbert Keel
 481. Juanita Jennette Keel
475. Sophia Fry. b. 1888; married Steerman.
 476. Sammie Fry. b. 1880.
 477. Overton Keel. b. Nov., 1897.
 478. William Simon Keel. b. March, 1898.
 479. Cecil Keel. b. Nov., 1899; d. 30 Aug 1900.
 480. Louis Colbert Keel. b. 1901.
 481. Juanita Jennette Keel. b. 10 Sept 1910; married Ernest Tate, b. 18 Nov 1898, d. 9 Dec 1981; issue:
 482. Roberta Ann Tate
 483. Gwendolyn Tate
 484. Charles Guy Tate
482. Roberta Ann Tate. married Boland.
 483. Gwendolyn Tate. married Gentry.
 484. Charles Guy Tate.







MAP 6: LEE COUNTY,
MISSISSIPPI
selected Chickasaw
reserves



MAP 7: COLBERT COUNTY, ALABAMA
selected Chickasaw reserves

